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PROSTITUTION
IN
INDIA

BY

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DAS GUPTA & CO

54/3 College Street, Calcutta.

Published by—
J N Chakravarti
44 Badur Bagan Street
Calcutta.

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Dr Santosh Kumar Mukherji

Printed by—
Bijoy Narayon Das Paul
UNAN PRINTING WORKS
44 Badur Bagan Street, Calcutta

CONTENTS

History of Prostitution in India

Pre-historic Period—
Sexual Promiscuity amongst Primitive Men 5
Growth of the Marriage System 6
Married Life in the Period of Evolution 9
Polygamy 10
Common Wife 11
Sexual Promiscuity before Marriage 12
Sexual Promiscuity after Marriage 13
Sexual Union of Married Women with Strangers for Getting Pregnant 13
Abduction of Married Women 16
Lending a Wife to a Guest 17
The Wife as a Stake 17
Chastity 19
Punishment for Unchaste Women 19
Various Marriage Systems— Marriage by Force—Love Marriage— Marriage by Mutual Selection 20-23
Duration of Marriage and Divorce 23
The Laws Relating to Rape 25
Prostitution—a By-product of Marriage 25
The Celestial Prostitutes— Urbashi—Rambha—Ghritachi— Tilottama 26

Prostitutes in Buddhist Literature
A courtesan of Kampilya—Sundari —Salavati 30

Hindu and Buddhist Period—

Classification of Prostitutes 33
Mode of Living of Prostitutes 37
Causes of Prostitution
Character of Prostitutes 38
Sham Marriage 39
Lovers of Prostitutes—
Shama—Sulasa 41
Procurers or Panders 43
Dress and Cosmetic Art 44
The Fee of Prostitutes 49
Public Opinion on Brothels 51
Marriage with Prostitutes 51
Position of Prostitutes in Society 53
State Control of Brothels 55
Wine and Women 59
Male Prostitutes 61
Redemption of Prostitutes
In the Hindu Period—Pingala 64
During the Buddhist Period—
Ambapali 65
Padmavati 67
Addhakasi 67
Sirima 68

Muhammedan Period—

Private Brothels—Concubinage 70
Life of a Concubine 71
Wives on Hire 72
Ennuchs 73
A Typical Harem 74
Harem of the Nabobs of Bengal 77
Fancy Fair 78

Clandestine Prostitution 80
Dancing Girls 81
Description of a South Indian Brothel 83

Stories of Courtesans
Anarkali 85
Lal Kunwar 86

Early European Society in India—

The Portuguese 89
The French 90

English Society
Madame Grand—Lola Montez
—Immorality in English Girl
Schools in India 92-94
Concubines of Englishmen in India 95
Dancing Girls 97

The Slave Trade 101
Introduction of Syphilis in India 103

The Modern Prostitute

Type of Prostitutes—

Public Prostitutes

High class prostitutes—The road side harlots—Street walkers 107

Artistes

Dancing girls—Actresses 110

Concubines 121

Temporary Wives 121

Semi-mistresses 122

Clandestine Prostitutes

Maid servants—Female cooks—Girl labourers—Panwalli—Nurses—Shop and telephone girls 122

Religion of Prostitutes 130

Age of Prostitutes 134

Demand and Supply—

Cause of Demand

Surplus of men over women—Temporary markets of prostitution 137

Kind of Women Procured—

Girls born of prostitute mother—Girls adopted by prostitutes—Seduced or abducted girls—The semi professional girls—Girls who are already prostitutes *147-152*

Causes of a Woman's Fall 155

Voluntary Cases 155
Licentiousness of Disposition 155
Seduction 156
Temptation 157
Constant Association of Men and Women 158
Ill-assorted Marriage 159
Ill-treatment of Girls at Home—Orphan girls—The hard lot of widows 160
Destitution 164
Connivance of relatives 165
Accidental Cases 167
Influence of Labour and Housing Conditions 168
Bad Social Conditions—Deva Dasi 173

The Traffickers

The Traffickers 179
The Bariwalli 180
The Financiers or Principals 184
Dalals (Procurers or Agents) 185

Traffic in Women—

Professional Traffic in Girls
Offers of employment—
Kidnapping of little girls 194
Marriage Method 195
Marriage Fraud 197
Bogus Widow's Home 203

Luring Women on False Plea—Girls lost during fairs etc.—Plea of taking to father s place—Plea of taking to place of amusement—by drivers 206

Abduction by Force 213

The Assailants 215

The Victims 217

Modus Operandi of Gang Rape

Abduction from house—Abduction from way or village tank— On the pretext of call 219

Brothel Areas and their Inmates—

Colonies of Prostitutes in Towns 235

In Calcutta 235

Country Towns—Khulna—Dacca—Chandernagar—Chittagong 242-244

Benares 244

Bombay City 244

Karachi 245

Cuttack 245

Madras City 245

Classes of Brothels 246

Crime in Brothels

Women murdered for jewellery 248

Life of a Prostitute in a Brothel –

Dress—Culture—Ordinary routine of life —Amusement—Appearance—Debt—Number of visitors—The visitors—

Customs—Caste distinction—Religion —Mock ceremony of marriage— Gambling 253-263

Health of the Women
Diseases common among public women
Venereal diseases—Sterility
Delirium Tremens 264-267

Drug Habit
Drinking—Smoking—Cocaine— Opium 267-268

The Future of a Prostitute 269

Traffic in Foreign Women 273
Causes of demand 275

Foreign Prostitutes Found in India 278

Clients of Foreign Prostitutes 284

How the Foreign Prostitutes Carry on their Trade 286

Traffic in Foreign Women 288
Types of Girls Recruited 288
Countries from where Girls are Imported 288
How the Women are Imported 290

Modus Operandi of Traffickers 302

Routes of Traffic to India 305

Methods of Procuring Girls 306

Description of a Foreign Brothel 308

Indian Women as Victims of International Traffic 310

Control Of Prostitution

Social Reforms—

A plea for taking abducted and seduced girls into society 315
Removal of Undesirable Customs
Suppression of Deva Dasi 318
Marriage Reforms 319
Prevention of Marriage of Girls with Old Men 319
Suppression of Polygamy 320
Polyandry 321
Prevention of Child Marriage
Sarda Act 323
Widow Marriage 322
Dissolution of Marriage 326
Intercaste Marriage 331
Awakening of Indian Women 333
Educational Reforms 335
Proper Education of Girls 335
Problem of Co education 339
Physical Training of Girls 342
Dangers of women travelling alone 347
Education in Sexual Matters 350
Preventive Measures 353
Improvement of Slums 353
Prohibition of Sale of Wine 359
Control of Indecent Publications 359

Vigilance—
Educational work and propaganda—
Vigilance work—After-care of girls
rescued—Influence on legislation 363
Control of Employment 367
Special Arrangement for Arrest and Trial
of Old Offenders 369
Women Police 369
Women Magistrates 372
Necessity of Deterrent Punishment
in Cases of Forcible Abduction 375
Provision for Livelihood of Fallen
Women 383
Home for the Rescued Girls 316
Position of Illegitimate Children
Foundling Hospitals 396
Lying-in Hospitals 397
Protection of Children 398
Control of Venereal Diseases 401
Control of Immigration of Foreign
Prostitutes 418
The System of Licensed Houses 422
Description of Licensed Brothels 436
Supervision of Prostitutes 443
Disadvantnges of the Licensing System 447
Licensing System in India 456
Abolition of Brothels
History of Abolition of Brothels 463

Result of Abolition of Brothels 482
Is Abolition of Brothels Practicable 485
Laws Relating to Prostitution 491
Bibliography 499
Appendix 504
Index 511

PROSTITUTION IN INDIA

WHAT IS PROSTITUTION ?

Prostitution means promiscuous sexual intercourse for hire whether in money or kind with a prostitute.

A prostitute is a woman who sells herself for sexual purposes to a great number of men in succession and with little or no choice among them.

There are three important elements in prostitution—

(a) Firstly—promiscuity, that is change of client from time to time.

(b) Secondly—the acceptance of payment in money for the use of the body for sexual relations.

(c) Thirdly—physical or animal nature of the sexual union.

Promiscuity

The indiscriminate acceptance of clients is an important element in public professional prostitution The public prostitutes enter into sexual relation with different men but women of pleasure of the higher class however do not accept undesirable clients In some cases of secret prostitution and concubinage the woman lives with a single lover and the element of promiscuity is sometimes absent So promiscuity is not essential.

Money payment—

Money payment is an essential element in public professional prostitution But in cases of secret prostitution the element of payment is much in the background and skilfully veiled So if payment is taken as the criterion these cases would not strictly fall under the definition So it is better to treat as prostitution all cases of sexual relations for material advantage whether for money or not.

Physical or Animal Nature of the Sexual Act—

A professional prostitute lets her body on hire and submits to sexual intercourse only

for money; and love or any other human feeling does not play any part in it.

It is usual to style as prostitutes only those females who make prostitution their sole calling. But it is better to call them 'regular' or 'professional prostitutes'; while those females who practise prostitution secretly as auxilliary to some reputable calling may be classified as irregular. The clandestine prostitutes fall under the second class.

A concubine and the adulterous wife who has a single lover are not prostitutes according to the authorities both Eastern and Western. An adulterous wife or a licentious woman carries on liaison with men for mere satisfaction of lust and there is no question of gain. Such women are classed by *Vatsyayana* as *'vrasta'* as distinguished from the *'vashyas'* or public prostitutes.

The system of marriage and sexual purity of men and women are necessary in the interest of human society and civilisation, even if we leave aside the religious side of the question. The fall of the beautiful city of Lanka of Ravana and of Troy are lessons which cannot be allowed to be repeated. Sexual union of men and women is intended by Nature

for the purpose of procreation and the continuance of the race which is regarded as a sacred duty by the Hindu lawgivers Man is above the lower animals and enjoyment of sexual passion only for the sake of enjoyment like beasts is revolting from the ethical point of view

A SHORT HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION IN INDIA

SEXUAL PROMISCUITY AMONGST PRIMITIVE MEN

Long long ago before the dawn of civilisation, there was no system of marriage. Marriage is a product of civilisation, Now the question arises whether promiscuity and prostitution are forms of degeneracy or reversions to the primitive man.

In the animal world, the mammals do not generally remain faithful to a single mate. In the prehistoric age men and women cohabited in the manner of birds and animals. Sexual promiscuity prevailed within the limits of each tribal group. Quarrel among men and even tribes for women was common.

The primitive man had no home worth the name. He changed his mate frequently and so there was no family.

"In ancient time the women were naked. They could roam about and enjoy themselves at their own sweet will They had not to live under the yoke of men. Even if they became attached from one man to another, no sin touched them, At that time it was the religious custom". (*Mahabharata, Adiparva,* Chap. 122).

GROWTH OF THE MARRIAGE SYSTEM

How and when the marriage system was developed is not known. There is an interesting story in the *Mahabharata* about the introduction of marriage in ancient Indian society

Swetaketu was a great Indian sage An incident in his boyhood made him abolish the custom of sexual promiscuity

One day when the boy was seated with his parents a man came and took his mother away

Swetaketu became angry at this. But his father *Uddilaka* said "This is the eternal custom though a woman be attached to hundreds of men, she commits no sin Swetaketu denounced this custom and from that day made the rule— A woman who cohabits with a man other than her husband and a man who becomes attached to a woman other than his wife the sin of that woman and that man will be equal to that of infanticide

No one can tell whether there is any historical basis behind this story

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(1) অনাবৃতা হি সর্ব্বেষাং বর্ণানামঙ্গনাভুবি।
যথাগাবঃ স্থিতাস্তাত দ্বে দ্বে বর্ণে তথা প্রজাঃ॥
—Mahabharata Adiparva.

(2) তদা প্রভৃতি মর্য্যাদা স্থিতেয়মিতি নঃ শ্রুতম্।
ব্যুচ্চরন্ত্যাঃ পতিং নার্য্যা অত্র প্রভৃতি পাতকম্॥
ভ্রূণহত্যাসমং ঘোরং ভবিষ্যত্যত্র সম্মতম্।
ভার্য্যাং তথা ব্যুচ্চরত কৌমার যদচারিণীম॥

It is interesting to note that according to *Vatsayana* this *Swetaketu* was also a compilor of *Kama Sutra* (*Aphorisms on Love*), but his work was not available even in his days.

The anthropoid apes remain faithful with a single mate The male protects his mate and their young ones.

The family life also arose amongst the primitive men. Various factors played an important part in the development of family life :—

(1) Change from periodic to constant sexual impulse—

The primitive man like all other higher animals probably had a special time for sexual desire (rutting period).

Certain primitive races still show the same influence of the seasonal sexual impulse. We may take the example of the Hos (a primitive tribe) of Bengal.

"The Ho population" wrote Dalton "are .. quiet and reserved in manner, and in their demeanour towards women, gentle and decorous ; even in flirtation they seldom transcend the bounds of decency. The girls though full of spirits and somewhat saucy, have innate notions of propriety that make them modest in demeanour though devoid of all prudery and of the obscene abuse frequently heard from the lips of common women in Bengal, And since their adoption of clothing

they are careful to drape themselves decently as well as gracefully but they throw all this aside during their Magh feast Their nature seems to undergo a temporary change. Sons and daughters revile their parents in gross language, and parents the children men and women become like animals in the indulgence of their amorous propensities. They enact all that was ever protrayed by prurient artists in a bacchanalian festival or pandean orgy and as the light of the sun they adore and the presence of spectators seems to be no restraint to their indulgence, it cannot be expected that chastity is preserved when the shades of night fall on such a scene of licentiousness and debauchery

The Hos believe that at this time both man and woman become overcharged with vitality

In the primitive age so long as the sexual period was confined only to a certain part of the year there could be no necessity of marriage.

For some reasons the sexual impulse of man gradually became constant instead of periodic. The menstrual period in modern women begins at puberty and lasts independently of seasons in recurring cycles from puberty to menopause A man is no longer satisfied with sexual enjoyment only during certain sensons and wanted a mate, of his own whom he could enjoy at his sweet will and without fear of molestation of any other man

(2) The development of such occupation as required co-operative labours was also an important factor in the introduction of the marriage system. The wife and children are economic assets to a farmer.

(3) Apart from the economic utility of marriage, the desire to continue the line was also an important factor.

The religious ceremonies connected with the sexual and economic union of man and woman probably came at a later period of human civilisation. However if the male remains faithful to the female after she has borne him a child, takes care of it and remains to beget other progeny on the same woman, we may consider him married.

The introduction of the marriage system was a discouragement to sexual promiscuity.

MARRIED LIFE IN THE PERIOD OF EVOLUTION—

According to the Hindu ideal, a marriage is indissoluble and lasts life-long. But in the nebulous stages of Hindu civilisation, the marriage system was not so rigid.

Even now among some of the semisavage non-Aryan primitive tribes living in India companionate mating is prevalent side by side with marriage system with its ceremonials.

Among the pre-Dravidian *Cheros* of Mirzapur district, a man would mate with a woman of his choice and live with her provided the latter

agrees. Their children would suffer no social stigma.

Among the Mongoloid *Kukis* of Assam there is a system of marriage. But sometimes a man and a woman are allowed to live together without any ceremony and the society recognises the children as legitimate. The inability of the bride-groom to pay the bride price is sometimes the cause of such companionate mating

We shall now describe the state of the ancient society in the days when the system of marriage was being evolved

Polygamy—

Polygamy is an old custom in India and we find many examples of such marriage

King *Dasaratha* of *Ayodhya* had four wives while his son *Rama* the hero of the great epic *Ramayana* was faithful to his single wife *Sita* The devotion of *Rama* and *Sita* to each other is still the ideal of every husband and wife among the Hindus.

King *Bimbisara* of *Magadha* had five hundred wives (*Mahavagga* VIII 1 15)

Even a hundred years ago it was not unusual to find a man taking more than one wife in the life time of the first wife The modern Hindu is now satisfied with a single wife and plurality of wives is almost a rarity except in the case of some Rajas (native princes)

The Muhammadans still take more than one wife, though among the educated classes there is a tendency to discourage it.

Common Wife—

Polyandry (or the state of having at the same time several husbands) is not found in India, except among certain tribes in Travancore and Malabar districts of Southern India and amongst the Mongolian people of Ladakh. The people of Ladakh are almost akin to the Tibetans who practise polyandry. In Tibet, it is customary for a number of brothers to have one wife,

In ancient Indian literature we find only four examples of such marriage.

In the story of creation of the world by *Brahma*, it is found that *Sandhya* was taken as wife by the licentious *asuras* (*demons*). She became the common wife of the demons created by *Brahma*. (*Bhagavat*, III. 20),

Jatila and *Marisa*, the daughters of hermits, had several husbands.

The most important example is however that of *Draupadi* the heroine of the *Mahabharata*.

When the five *Pandava* brothers were in exile. *Arjun* won the hands of *Draupadi*. They wanted

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শ্রূয়তে হি পুরাণেঽপি জটিলানাম গৌতমী।
ঋষীনধ্যাসিতবতী সপ্ত ধর্ম্মবৃতাংবরা॥
তথৈব মুনিজাবার্ক্ষী তপোভি র্ভাবিতাত্মনঃ।
সঙ্গতাভূৎদশভ্রাতৃন একনাম্নঃ প্রচেতসঃ॥

to spring a surprise on their mother *Kunti* and told her See mother what we have brought." *Kunti* thought that they had brought some good food and told them to divide it amongst themselves The five obedient sons were in a fix and had no other alternative but to marry the girl Thus *Draupadi* had five husbands (*Mahabharata Adiparva* Chap, 196 Sloka 16)

This story shows that polyandry was not customary otherwise there would not have been any necessity for its justification

In prehistoric ages all sorts of sexual customs were found in India as in other parts of the world, even after the introduction of the marriage system

Sexual Promiscuity before Marriage—

Sexual promiscuity probably prevailed until marriage for a long time.

Satyavati the unmarried daughter of a fisher man had sexual relationship with *Parasara* and gave birth to *Veda Vyas* the compilor of the *Mahabharata* Afterwards she became the queen of *Santanu* the great grandfather of the *Kauravas* and the *Pandavas* the most influential *royal dynasties of the time.*

Kunti the mother of the *Pandavas* was not chaste before her marriage. She had a son before her marriage and abandoned him This son was saved from his watery grave by a king and

became the great hero *Karna* who fought against the sons of *Kunti* born in wedlock. From the fact that the child was abandoned, we may presume that atleast during this period it was not thought proper for an unmarried girl to have a child.

Sexual Promiscuity after Marriage—

Sexual promiscuity after marriage was however dealt with severely.

Ahalya, the wife of sage *Gautama*, was very beautiful. *Indra*, the king of paradise became enamoured of her and went to her in the disguise of her husband. *Ahalya* believed him to be her husband and with the help of this deception *Indra* violated her chastity. When *Gautama* came to know of it, he turned *Ahalya* into stone.

Poor *Ahalya*, she suffered through no fault of hers as she was cheated by *Indra*.

Renuka was the wife of sage *Jamadagni*. One day she saw a *Gandharva* (a supernatural being) playing in the water with his wife. This scene stimulated erotic feelings in her mind. The offence against the code of chastity was only a mental one ; but still her husband ordered his son *Parasurama* to kill her. *Parasuram* obeyed his father, but afterwards *Jamadagni* revived his wife.

Sexual Union of Married Women with Strangers for Getting Pregnant—

The main object of marriage was to have a

child. If the husband was sterile, arrangment was made for sexual intercourse of the wife with a man The husband acknowledged the child as his own and such a child was called a *kshetraja* son.

The birth of a son was of great political importance to kings and advantage of this peculiar custom was taken by childless kings

King *Vichitrabirya* of *Hastinapur* (Delhi) had no issue *Vyasa* the compilor of the *Mahabharata* was invited to try to make his wife pregnant *Bhishma* arranged a secret meeting of *Vyasa* with the queen and the result was the birth of,two sons—*Dhritarashtra* and *Pandu*

Pandu had two wives—*Kunti* and *Madri* But he was also impotent. So his wives were allowed to get themselves pregnant and some stories of visit of celestial beings were apparently manufactured to throw dust into the eyes of the people, The ignorant and superstitious people of the age believed in these supernatural stories

King *Saudasa* of *Ayodhya* had no issue. At his request *Vasistha* had an intercourse with his wife *Madayanti* and she gave birth to a child named *Balika*. (*Srimad Bhagavat* IX Chap 9)

There is a curious story in the Buddhist mythology

King *Okkaka* of *Malla* kingdom had sixteen thousand wives among whom *Shilavati* was the chief He had however no son

One day the people, assembled at the palace, told the king that they wanted a prince, as they did not like the idea of an unknown foreign dynasty being established after his death.

The king asked them "What am I to do for getting a son ?"

"O king, at first order the lower class inmates of your palace to dance and enjoy themselves in the street, Some of them may become pregnant,"

On the advice of his subjects the king sent the women of his harem to the street, They returned home after enjoying themselves for a week but none of them became pregnant,

The people became sorry at this and asked the king to send his queen *Shilavati* to the street,

The king took their advice and on the seventh day from that day *Shilabati* dressed in valuable ornaments came out of the palace,

Many young men had assembled at the gate of the palace hoping to attract the queen,

Sakra, the king of heavens, did not like that the virtuous queen should sacrifice her chastity for a child. He went there in the disguise of an old Brahmin and carried *Shilavati* to the heavens, He granted her prayer for a child and gave her two sons, one of whom was *Kusakumar*, a *Bodhisatva*,

This peculiar custom was also prevalent among the ancient Greeks, The laws of Solon

provided that an heiress whose husband proved impotent might choose one of his relatives to provide her with an heir to her estate A Spartan husband could lend his wife to any handsome man for the purpose of begetting children

Even in the 16th century Martin Luther the Protestant reformer advised women who remained childless in marriage secretly to wed a second husband for the purpose of securing legitimate (!) children whose paternity might be ascribed to the first husband.

With the growth of civilisation this system died out earlier in India The great Hindu law-giver *Manu* classed such temporary sexual union for getting a son as unchaste. *(Manu Samhita 9/67)*

Abduction of Married Women—

Abduction of other people s wife has already come to be looked down upon

King *Dandikya* of *Bhoja* dynasty carried off the daughter of a Brahmin named *Bhargava.* He was cursed by the Brahmins and was buried with his kingdom under a shower of dust

Sita the wife of *Rama* was forcibly carried away to *Lanka* (Ceylon) by the demon king *Ravana* The result was a great war in which almost all the nations of Southern India took the side of *Rama* The allied army captured and

sacked the beautiful city of *Lanka* and the faithful wife was restored to her loving husband.

Lending a Wife to a Guest—

There are examples of lending one's wife for a night to a guest, The story of *Bilvamangal* is an example of primitive ideal of hospitality.

Srisena, a charitable king of the *Arista* country had a queen named *Jayaprabha*. His preceptor asked him his wife The king gave her to him. But then the preceptor changed his mind and returned the queen to her husband with apologies (*Srisenavadana*, *Avadana-kalpalata*).

Visvantara, a prince, gave away his wife *Madri* to *Indra* the king of paradise who came in the disguise of a Brahmin (*Visvantaravadana*).

The Wife as a Stake—

In the *Mahabharata* we find the story of keeping a wife as a stake in gambling.

King *Yudhisthira* had a game of dice with *Shakuni*, the maternal uncle of *Duryodhana*. He not only staked his kingdom and riches, but also himself, his brothers and even his wife. He lost the game and his cousin *Dushasana* a brother of *Duryodhana*, caught hold of *Draupadi* and tried to make her naked before the gathering, but she was saved by *Sri Krishna*.

The following story tells us how a queen saved her chastity by her ready wit. An ascetic

became enamoured of the beauty of the queen and his passions were aroused. Since then he lay in his hut and did not go to the palace. The king missed him and on the seventh day went himself to the hut to see what the matter was He found the ascetic very sad and lying on his bed. When asked as to his ailment, the ascetic made a clean breast of the matter and told him his lust for the queen ! The king offered his wife to the ascetic, who became filled with joy at the hope of fulfilling his lustful desire The king however secretly instructed the queen to try to save the ascetic from the path of sin

The queen then went to the hut. When the ascetic wanted to enjoy her she asked him to go to the king and arrange for a house for their residence as the hut was not a fit place for her He went to the king and made arrangment for a house. But still the queen was not satisfied and every time they met she wanted one thing after another The ascetic however showed no sign of disgust and the queen found that this trick was futile.

One day when they were seated on a bed the queen took the ascetic by his whiskers and drew him towards her and said Have you forgetten that you are a holy man ? This brought the ascetic to his senses and saved the chastity of the queen (*Madulakkhana Jatak* no 66)

Chastity—

With the increase in the standard of civilisation, chasity came to be regarded as the ideal of a Hindu woman. But while chastity of women was insisted, no punishment was given to an unchaste man. So it was a one-sided affair. Chastity should be the ideal not only of woman, but also of man.

The devotion of *Sita* to her husband *Rama* is still the ideal of every Hindu woman. The story of *Damayanti, Savitri* and *Sati* are also spoken with respect by Indians.

The story of *Subha*, a Buddhist nun, is also a good example. One day when she was walking along the mango-grove of *Jivaka*, a profligate man blocked her path and wanted to ravish her. In vain she told him that she was a nun and had renounced the world When she found that the debauchee would not let her go, she extracted one of her eyes and placed it on his hand. The man was astonished at this and begged pardon of her. (*Therigatha Commentary*, 245 foll.)

Punishment for Unchaste women—

Violation of chastity was a serious offence and severe punishment was inflicted on women found guilty.

Sinful women when detected had to undergo punishment for their clandestine corruption which deserved death, imprisonment, mutilation or cleaving asunder (Fausboll, *Jataka*, V. p, 444),

VARIOUS MARRIAGE SYSTEMS—

We shall now describe the various systems of marriage recognised by the Hindu Society in the middle ages

Marriage by Force—

Marriage by capture is the most primitive and crude form of marriage. The men stole women from some other tribe. The women were unwilling victims and submitted to all their desires as there was no other alternative There was no room for love in such a marriage. It was called *paishacha* (diabolical) marriage and gave rise to feuds and wars

That this was also the custom among the primitive Aryans, may be deduced from the Sanskrit word for marriage—*vivaha* which is derived from the verb *vaha* meaning to carry

Marriage by Seduction—

The practice of seducing a girl has been prevalent from the earliest times A romantic lover might obtain his wife without the consent of her parents by carrying her by force.

In such cases the girl was not infrequently a party to such abduction. It was an age of hero-worship and girls often wanted to marry some hero of her choice to whom she would write to take her away

Vasuladatta daughter of *Chandapajjota* of *Ujjain* fell in love with her teacher *Udena* who

was also himself a king. *Udena* eloped with her and made her his queen, (*Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. II. p. 191.)

Patachara was the daughter of a rich banker of *Sravasthi*. Her father kept a strict eye on her, but she fell in love with her own page. In the meantime her father had settled her marriage with a rich youth. To avoid this marriage she eloped with the page to a distant village and lived with him in a hamlet. (*Dhammapada Commentary* Vol, II. p. 260.

The custom of marriage by capture or abduction is no longer tolerated by civilised modern society and this primitive custom has since passed away,

Love Marriage (Gandarbha Marriage)—

Love marriages were also common. In this form of marriage the bridegroom and the bride made their own choice without the knowledge of their parents and there were no rites or ceremonies

King *Dushmanta* fell in love with the hermit girl *Sakuntala*. This love has been made immortal by *Kalidasa* in his great drama *Avijnana-Sakuntala*,

Vatsayana, the sage of love, says in his *Kama-Sutra*. "As the fruit of all good marriage is love, the *Gandharbha* form of marriage is respected, even though it is formed under dishono-

rable circumstances Another cause of respect accorded to the *Gandharva* form of marriage is that it brings happiness

Swayambara—

Among royal families a princess was sometimes allowed to choose a husband for herself from a number of suitors assembled for the purpose Her selection was final and the parents had no right to disapprove her choice

Vepacitti king of the *Asuras* said My daughter shall choose for herself such a husband as she think fit. He then invited the *Asuras* gave a garland of flowers to the princess and asked her to make a choice She chose one of the suitors and threw the wreath over his head. (*Dhammapada Commentary* Vol I pp 278-279)

The romantic *swayambara* of *Sanyukta* is a matter of history *Jaychandra* King of *Kunauj* arranged *swaymbara* of his beautiful daughter and a large number of kings and princes came at his invitation for her hands Now *Sanyukta* loved *Prithviraj* the brave king of Delhi But *Jaychandra* hated *Prithviraj* and the poor girl had no other alternative but to send information to *Prithviraj*

Prithviraj came to *Kanauj* and attended the *swayambara* ceremony of the princess in disguise When *Sanyukta* saw him, she threw the garland

over his head. But no one else recognised *Prithviraj* and all were astonished at the choice of an unknown person by the princess and there was great disorder In the meantime *Prithviraj* took away his bride on the back of a horse and safely reached Delhi though hotly pursued by the forces of *Jaychandra*

Marriage by Purchase—

In these cases the girl had little choice. The husband was selected by the parent who married their daughter in exchange of cows. This custom was prevalent amongst the non-Aryans and was called *Asur vivaha.*

Marriage by Mutual Selection—

'From marriage by purchase modified forms developed in which the feeling of both the parties was respected.'

The bridegroom asked the father of the girl for her hands If he thought him a suitable match, the girl was given to him as a gift (*sampradan*). The system is called *prajapatiya vivaha.*

DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

In ancient times divorce was apparently allowed to a woman even in the life time of a husband. Sterility or impotence of the husband was a good plea for divorce.

Madhavi was a beautiful daughter of King *Jajati.* At first she married king *Haryarsha* of the Solar dynasty. She however left him and

married *Dibodas* the king of Benares After some time *Madhavi* left him too and married *Usinara* and gave birth to a child named *Sibi*. The name of *Sibi* is well known to every Indian household for his charity *Madhavi* again changed her husband and married the royal hermit *Viswamitra* (*Mahabharata Udyogparva*, Chap 115 *Anusasan Parva* Chap 30)

Isidasi was twice married but was turned out by her successive husbands (Theri Commentary p 260)

With the growth of civilisation and increased standard of morality the laws of marriage became more rigid and divorce was allowed only in exceptional cases.

A divorce was allowed only in the following cases—where the husband was impotent, had renounced the world and became a *sanyasin* or where his where abouts could not be traced for twelve years

The death of a husband however freed the wife from her bonds of marriage and she was then free to marry again if she liked

In the *Buddhist* literature we find that the king of *Kosala* came with a large force against

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নষ্টে মৃতে প্রব্রজিতে ক্লীবে চ পতিতে পতৌ
পঞ্চ স্বাপৎসু নারীণাং পতিরন্যো বিধীয়তে।

Parasara 4/26

the king of Benares, slew him and took away with him his queens to be his own wives (*Asaka Jataka*).

The union of a man with a woman for life dissoluble only by death is the ideal of modern Hindu religion.

There is no moral difference between a prostitute and a woman who changes her husband frequently except that in the latter case it is authorised by law and the society deems her chaste.

The Laws Relating to Rape

The work by *Pandit Bardhaman*, Chief Justice of the Court of the King of *Mithila*, gives an idea of the criminal law of the Hindus as administered in a Hindu state so far down as the 16th. century A D Bardhaman regarded rape on woman as no better than murder.

Prostitution—A Bye-Product of Marriage System

The primitive woman could have sexual relations with any man in her tribe. So long as this custom prevailed there could be no necessity of a prostitute class.

Prostitution is a bye-product of marriage. With

Hindu Criminal Law by Pandit Bardhaman, Edited by M M Kamal Krishna Smrititirtha No 51 of the Gaekwar Oriental Series, Baroda

the introduction of marriage, a man had to remain faithful to a single woman But primitive instinct for promiscuity remained and man longed for the forbidden fruit." Prostitution has therefore been rightly described as a dark shadow out of the past falling now upon family life.

The slaves captured in war served the purpose of prostitutes When a princess was married her maids accompanied her to her husband s place and were treated as concubines

In time a class of women arose who permitted the sexual use of their bodies for hire.

THE CELESTIAL PROSTITUTES

The ancient people dreamed of the heaven as an abode of pleasure where there were *apsaras* (who may be compared with the houris of the Muhammadan paradise of the Koran). The *Apsaras* ministered to the passions of the gods. The gods and goddesses of Hindu mythology were like those of the ancient Greeks, not aloof from humanity, and they were themselves quite susceptible to the normal passions of mankind. The *apsaras* were also occasionally sent on diplomatic missions to seduce the enemies of gods In such cases they took the initiative in debauchery and instead of yielding to the entreaties of men, it was they who approached them.

Urbashi—

Urbashi, the heavenly dancer was a creation of *Kama* (cupid).

Once *Vishnu* was engaged in *yoga* (meditation) on the Himalayas. As a *yogi* may attain even the position of *Indra*, the King of Heavens, *Indra* became alarmed at this He sent several *apsaras* (fairies) to seduce *Vishnu* and deviate his mind from meditation. They exhausted their arts of fascination, but *Vishnu* remained unmoved.

Then *Madana* (Cupid) created *Urvashi* who succeeded in overcoming the coldness of *Vishnu* and thus saved paradise.

Urvashi became a favourite of the gods. But

her days of happiness soon came to an end *Mitravarun* a God, wanted to enjoy her company but as she refused to submit she was cursed and sent to the earth as a punishment. This shows that she had no choice in allowing the use of her body

When in this earth of ours she became the wife of King *Pururba* and the mother of a royal dynasty She returned to the heaven on the expiry of the period of her detention on earth The love of *Urvashi* with *Pururba* is the theme of *Vikromarbashi* the well known drama of *Kalidasa*

Many years after this *Arjuna*, a descendant of *Urvashi* went to *Indra*. When he was in bed at night *Urvashi* appeared there and solicited his favours but was met with refusal. *Arjuna* did not yield to her desires

Menaka—

Menaka is another well known *Apsara*. When the sage *Viswamitra* was in deep meditation (*yoga*). *Indra* sent her to seduce him *Viswamitra* became enamoured of her and she lived with him for sometime till the birth of her child *Sakuntala* The child was abandoned by her heartless mother who then left *Viswamitra* and returned to heaven *Sakuntala* afterwards became the wife of King *Dusmanta* and is the heroine of the immortal drama of *Kalidasa*.

Rambha—

Rambha is another *apsara*. One night she was going to the house of *Nalakuvera* a son of *Kuvera* (the banker of heaven), when she was forcibly raped on her way by *Ravana*, the demon King of *Lanka* (modern Ceylon).

Ghritachi—

Ghritachi another heavenly prostitute became the wife of King *Kusanabha*, the grand-father of sage *Viswamitra*. She gave birth to one hundred daughters

The sage *Chyavana* lived for some time with *Ghritachi* She had a son named *Ruru*. The well known Ayurvedic medicine *Chyavanaprias* bears the name of *Chyavana* who was rejuvenated from the use of this medicine.

Tilottama—

Tilottama is the most beautiful of the heavenly prostitutes. The demons *Sunda* and *Upasunda* were two brothers before whom the gods of heaven trembled through fear *Viswakarma* the celestial mechanic, was asked to create a damsel whose beauty should be perfect. *Viswakarma* collected the essence of beauty from all parts of the universe and created *Tilottama* the envy of the world. She was then sent to beguile *Sunda* and *Upasunda*, Both the brothers became so enamoured of her that they fought each other and were killed. Thus the Gods were freed from the danger of conquest of paradise by demons.

PROSTITUTES IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Many interesting stories of popular courtesans are found in Buddhist literature

A Courtesan of Kampilya —

In the *Punyavanta Jataka* there is an interesting story of a prostitute *Punyavanta* was a prince of Benares He went to the city of *Kampilya* with his four friends in search of adventures to find out who fares best.

Rupavanta one of these friends was a very beautiful young man One day when walking in the market he attracted the notice of the chief courtesan of *Kampilya* She called him by her maid servant and after giving him every pleasure paid him a hundred thousand gold coins

Prajna-banta another friend of the prince had a reputation for wisdom and his sagacity was soon put to test.

One day a merchant came to the house of the chief courtesan and wanted to take her away She could not accede to his request, already having received the money of another person

Next morning she went to the house of the merchant who told her that he had dreamed of having sexual relations with her at night At this

the courtesan demanded her fees for this relation in dream ! The merchant naturally refused and a quarrel arose between them.

At that moment *Prajnavanta* happened to come there and they requested him to arbitrate.

Prajnavanta asked the merchant to bring one thousand gold coins and a mirror. He showed the image of the gold coins in the mirror to the courtesan and asked her to accept them.

Every one had a hearty laugh at the expense of the courtesan who was rightly served.

Sundari—

Sundari was a beautiful prostitute. When the people flocked to Buddha, the *Tirthikas* (a class of monks) who lived on the offerings of the devotees found their lucrative trade diminished. Buddha's faultless character and moral teachings drew the people of all classes to him. The unscrupulous *Tirthakas* therefore conspired to discredit Buddha by manufacturing false evidence of licentiousness against him. They engaged the services of *Sundari* for this purpose.

Every evening *Sundari* went to a garden near the residence of Buddha and returned to her house in the morning. When any one asked her where she went, she gave out that she lived every night with Buddha.

After a few days the *tirthikas* thought it safe to kill *Sundari* whom they could not trust. They

hired some ruffians for this purpose *Sundari* was killed and her body thrown under refuse near the residence of Buddha

An allegation was made that this murder was committed by some of the disciples of Buddha to screen the sin of their master But truth was soon out. One of the murderers boasted of his act while under the influence of drink and his confession led to the punishment of the wicked *tirthika* monks

Salavati—

Salavati was a beautiful courtesan of Rajagriha and was well versed in music and dancing She charged one hundred *kahapanas* for one night.

Salavati however became pregnant and as a pregnant courtesan is not liked by men she avoided visitors on the pretext of illness In due course she gave birth to a son and had it thrown into a dustbin

The child was however found by an attendant of a prince named *Abhaya* By the order of the prince the child was taken to the palace and brought up by him The child was named *Jivaka as he was alive when found This Jivaka* afterwards became the greatest physician of his time.

Sirima the daughter of *Salavati* was also a well known courtesan

CLASSIFICATION OF PROSTITUTES

In ancient sexual works prostitutes have been classified as—

(1) Married women prostituting with other men.—Such women are again classified into two classes.

Kulata—is a married woman who stealthily goes to some other house to join her lover through fear of her husband.

Swairini—is a married woman who prostitutes herself in her own or some other house and whose husband is powerless against her.

(2) *Clandestine Prostitutes*—

(a) Maidservants were, as they are now, almost always prostitutes. '*Kumbha dasi*' or petty maidservants and '*paricharika* who served their masters belonged to this class.

(b) Female workers (*silpa-karika*) like washerwomen, wives of weavers etc. were also prostitutes. Their profession brought them in contact with men.

(3) *Actresses (nati)*—

Actresses have been classed as prostitutes which show that no respectable lady joined the stage. Even to this day the stage is avoided by Indian ladies and all the actresses are prostitutes, though the screen has recently attracted a few respectable girls.

(4) *Married women or widows who become prostitutes* —

A woman who prostitutes herself in the life time or after the *death of her husband was treated* as a distinct class (*Prakasavinasta*) They were not hereditary prostitutes and consisted mostly of women who fell from the path of virtue and became prostitutes under force of circumstances.

(5) *Professional prostitutes*—

The *ganikas* were professional prostitutes

(6) *The Dancing girls*—

There was a class of courtesans who were employed for their skill as musicians and dancers They were called as *nataki* in the *Buddhist* literature (*Jataka*) or simply *Nati* (actress) Clad in beautiful dress these dancing girls played upon their musical instruments danced and sang delightfully

Dancing girls were sometimes kept in the palace of kings for amusement

(7) *High Class Courtesans*—

Some of the better class courtesans were famous not only for beauty but also for culture. There were splendid musicians and even poets among them A courtesan was valued all the more by

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মূখদাসী পরিচারিকা, কুলটা, বৈরিণী নটী, শিল্পকারিকা, প্রকাশবিনষ্টা, রূপজীবা, গণিকা চেটি, বেশ্যা বিশেষা।

her lovers, if she had a reputation as an artist or a wit.

They lived in palatial buildings, abundantly supplied with luxury. The noblemen and fashionable youth of the country and even the kings and princes were at their feet.

We learn from the *Jataka* that *Salavati* a courtesan of *Rajagriha* was expert in dancing, singing and lute playing and was much visited by many people.

Ambapali of *Vaisali* and *Padmavati* of *Ujjain* were visited by king *Bimbisara of Magadha.*

Despite the shameful position of the prostitute, she often welded power which comes to a woman when the high and mighty succumb to her charm, If she was intelligent she might have it in her power to sway the the destinies of a kingdom. Courtesans have decided problems of state and caused the downfall of many a kingdom.

(8) Prostitutes of the Street—

How they exhibited their body—

"Everyday she should sit with ornaments on her body in a place from where they may be seen by the public and look at the street. But they are not to make themselves over exposed, as a prostitute is like a commodity for sale ; (her body) should be partly exposed, yet partly concealed,

which will increase the eagerness of the public to see her' (1/1)

This may as well be a description of a modern public prostitute sitting on the steps of her door or peeping though a window on the roadside

In ancient Greek towns the prostitutes stood naked in front of the brothels The ancient Indian prostitutes were usually dressed in half concealment which is still more provocative. These women knew the seductive power of half-concealment The nude is far less dangerous than the halfnude.

The famous courtesans however needed neither to sit in their windows or doorsteps nor to go hunting in the streets. Appointments were made with a servant or intermediary and the fee was arranged in advance.

MODE OF LIVING OF PROSTITUTES

Hundreds of years have rolled by, but human nature has not changed. The life of prostitutes in the days of *Vatsayana* was almost the same as that of their modern prototypes. There is a special chapter on prostitution (*Vaishikadhikaran*) in *Kamasutra*.

Causes of Prostitution

Bad company and cruelty or desertion by husband were then, as at present, the main causes of prostitution among married women.

The causes enumerated by *Vatsayana* are as true to-day as they were hundreds of years ago.

"The following are the causes of destruction of a woman's chastity :—

(1) Always going into society and sitting in company.

(2) Absence of restraint.

(3) The loose habits of a husband.

(4) Want of caution in her relations with other men.

(5) Continued and long absence of her husband.

(6) Living in a foreign country.

(7) Destruction of her love and feelings by her husband

(8) Company of loose women.

(9) Jealousy of her husband.

Character of Prostitutes

The courtesans had no place in the domestic life of a family and were only meant for the pleasure of men.

The character of the prostitute remains the same as in the days of *Buddha* though hundreds of years have passed

A prostitute used to court the man whom she disliked just in the same manner as the man whom she adored (Cowell *Jataka* V p 242) A public woman who sells her body can have no choice of a visitor

Their only weapons are speech smiles dance and song They harass unstable minds (Fausboll *Jataka V p* 446)

They attract men by their tempting figure and voice, perfumes and touch and by their dalliance in stratagem They assume different poses to allure weak-minded people and to cause them to fall a prey to their sinful snare.

The prostitute loves not the man but his money Being moved by their greed or carnal appetite, they consumed the rich men in whom they were interested like fuel cast in a blazing fire (Fausboll, *Jataka V p* 452).

'Those who are prostitutes and do whatever they like, they have no love, their craving is for new men.' (*Bhagavat* IX *Chap.*14).

"They forget past friendship and take pleasure with new men just as cows wounded in one field graze happily in another" (*Saundarananda Kavya, Canto VIII*)."

"Like fuel burning in a blazing fire, they burn the man whom they serve for gold or desire. (Fausboll, *Jataka, II. p. 330*).

Sham Marriage of a Prostitute

When the daughter of a prostitute attained puberty, her mother selected a suitable paramour for her. Some sort of ceremony was performed and the first paramour was called the husband of the girl, The bond was however only temporary and lasted for a year, after which the girl was free to prostitute herself,

"When the daughter of a courtesan is given to a man, the ties of marriage should be observed only for a year, and after that she may do what she likes. But even after the end of the year, when otherwise engaged, if she should be invited now and then by her first husband to come and see him, she should see him."

"What has been said about them should also be understood to apply to the daughters of dancing women."

There was apparently a great demand for the privilege of deflowering a girl and heavy demands were made on the purse of the would be first paramour or so called husband

When the daughter of a courtesan attains puberty the mother should get together a lot of young men of the same age, disposition and knowledge as her daughter and tell them that she would give her in marriage to the person who would give her presents of a particular kind.

After this the daughter should be kept in seclusion as far as possible, and the mother should give her in marriage to the man who may be ready to give her the presents agreed upon

If the mother is unable to get so much out of the man she should show some of her own things as having been given by the bridegroom to the daughter

This is a very clever way of increasing the market value of one to be initiated into prostitution

The girl also could select her own husband but the consent of her mother was necessary

The daughter should make herself attractive to the sons of wealthy citizens unknown to her mother and make them attached to her and for this purpose should meet them at the time of learning to sing and in places where music is played and at the house of other people. She

should then request her mother, through a female friend or servant to be allowed to unite herself to the man who is most agreeable to her."

This sort of marriage is resorted to by prostitutes even to this day as a matter of convenience. It is sometimes more safe to masquerade as a Mrs. than as an unmarried Miss.

Lovers of Prostitutes

The prostitutes had their own lovers or bullies who took advantage of their weakness and lived on their earnings.

These women were depraved, and their tastes and earnings were also generally morbid

Shama—

In the ancient city of Benares, there lived a beautiful courtesan named *Shama*. She had five hundred slaves and lived in luxury befitting a queen Kings and princes lay themselves at her feet and she was the cause of death of a young merchant. She charged a thousand *kahapanas* per night. Such a mercenary woman fell in love with a good looking robber. One day while standing at the window of her room, she saw the robber being led under arrest by the police. She took a fancy in him and had him released by representing to the Governor that he was her brother.

From that day *Shama* passed all her time with the robber and turned out all her visitors

But the robber thought that the passion of *Shama* for him might not last long One day he took her to a garden and strangled her till she was unconscious and then decamped with all her jewellery

When *Shama* recovered her consciousness she came back home and after some time again resumed prostitution

Sulasa—

Sulasa the lovely courtesan of Benares also fell in love with a robber like *Shama*

She was also very rich and had five hundred courtesans as her attendents.

One day she saw a robber being led to the place of execution He was very handsome and *Sulasa* fell in love with him She bribed the police chief of the city and got him free.

For three or four months *Sulasa* and the robber lived together But the robber apparently prized money more than the fickle love of a public woman

One day he told *Sulasa* that when he was arrested by the police he promised to give offerings to a tree god on the top of a hill At his desire *Sulasa* put on all her ornaments and accompanied him to the place

It was a very lonely place When they reach-

ed there, the robber told her that he wanted to kill her and take away her jewellery.

She said "Why will you kill me? I spent a large sum to save you. I left a rich man's son for you and though I might get a thousand rupees a day, I do not look at any other man. So have mercy on me and spare my life.'

But the robber would not listen to her and was determined to kill her.

Now *Sulasa* was an intelligent girl and her wit rose to the occasion She asked him to allow her to embrace and kiss him for the last time before her death.

She then walked round him three times and kissed him. Then she stood behind him as if to do obeisance and gave him a push from behind. The robber fell down the precipice and was crushed to pieces.

Then *Sulasa* returned home (Cowell, *Jataka*, III p. 260—263).

Procurers or Panders

Even in those days the prostitutes had procurers who lured men to the brothels.

"Those who can secure paramours and prevent them from visiting other prostitutes, help in extracting money and will not cause estrangement, should be made helping hands."

"The officers of the court of justice, astro-

logers, powerful people brave men those who appreciate art, clowns florists dealers in scents, wine merchants washermen, barbers and beggars can work as such as they visit the house of others and may induce the paramours to come. Men other than these may also do so (1/2).

'Teachers of music and arts to the prostitutes, professional buffoons and persons who lived on the benevolence of profligate rich men were generally the go-betweens of prostitutes and their paramours

A *pithamarda* is a man without wealth, alone in the world who is skilled in all the arts and by teaching these arts is received in the company of the citizens and in the abode of public women

A *vita* is a man who is honoured in the assembly of citizens and in the abode of public women and lives on their means and on them

A *vidushaka* is a person who is a jester and is trusted by all

These persons are employed in matters of quarrels and reconciliations between citizens and public women'

Dress and Cosmetic Art

The prostitutes of ancient India like their modern successors gave much attention to their dress and cosmetics with the object of increasing their beauty—their only stock in trade.

Dress—

The women used to wear coloured saris. There is mention of rainbow coloured sari in *Kadamvari*. The costly Chinese silk (চীনাংশুক) was worn by rich courtesans.

Chintz (*Vichitra, Patolaka, Lalita Vistara*, 6), was also used.

The breasts were generally left exposed, as is evident from the paintings in the *Ajanta* caves.

We read in the Kama Sastra,

"Even when a stranger sees at a distance a young woman with the marks of nails on her breast he is filled with respect for her."

This paragraph means that, when a stranger sees the marks of nails on the breasts of a young woman, he will know that she is married and is loved by her husband, A married woman is to be respected by every virtuous man.

Later on however the custom of exposing the breasts disappeared. In the *Kadamvari* by *Banavatta* a contemporary of *Harshavardhan* (6th century A.D) we find that a cloth was wrapped round upper part of the body like a shawl. The belles of those days liked *uttariya* of green colour like that of a parrot. *

Tight jackets (*kachulis*) are still worn by some

* "এষোঽস্য শুক-পক্ষতি রাগেণাত্তরীয়াংশুপ্রান্তেন।"
"দুকুল যুগলং বসনাং বিলাসবতীং দদর্শ।" *Kadamvari*

of the prostitutes. These jackets cover the upper part of the breast, leaving the lower half and the abdomen exposed when the *orna* (shawl) is not worn

The up to-date modern Indian prostitutes however keep the upper part of their breasts exposed on the model of the European girls

Cosmetic Art—

The cosmetic art was highly developed in ancient India They knew the art of making old or ugly courtesans look younger or more beautiful than they really were.

Good looks good qualities youth and liberality are the chief and most natural means of making a person agreeable in the eyes of others But in the absence of these a man or woman must have resort to artificial means or to art (*Kama Sastra*)

Various sorts of dentifrices were known to the courtesans of ancient times and were used to beautify the teeth In the *Natya Sastra* (A Treatise on Theatre) by *Bharat* we find the praise of pearl white teeth *

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* "দন্তানাং বিবিধা রাগাশ্চতুর্ণাং তত্র তা তথা।
রাগান্তর বিকল্পাশ্চ শোভনেনাধিকোদ্ভবঃ।
মৃদ্ধানাং সুশ্লক্ষ্ণীনাং চ মুক্তাভা সিতশোভনা
সুরক্তা বাপি দন্তা যা পদ্মপত্রবরুনাঃ।
অশ্বরাগো দ্বোতিঃ স্যাদধরং পল্লবপ্রভ॥

Natya Sastra Chap 32

Some of the women however stained their teeth black by *'danta masi'* or *'misi'*, which is used even to this day by some of the low class prostitutes,

The use of collyrium on the eyelids was a fashion in those days.

The lips were coloured with *alaktaka* (a colour made from lac). The courtesans also chewed *pan* which coloured the lips red. The *pan* is still a favourite of Indian women.

The margins of the feet were also stained red with lac (*alaktaka*), which is still used by most of the Hindu prostitutes, The Muhammedan women use *mehdi* leaves for colouring the soles of their feet and also their palms.

In Madras and Orissa the women use turmeric all over their body to give it a yellowish colour.

Powder was dusted over the face and body. We learn from a Jain work that perfumed flours were used for the purpose (*Uva saggadao p*, 26). In the days of *Kalidasa*, the pollens of *lodhra* flowers were applied to the face by the fashionable women of his times (*Meghdutam*)

Dressing the hair was an important art and there were professional hairdressers in the ancient towns. They dressed the hair with various creams and perfumes and could make artistic braids.

Depilatories for removing hair from the body were also used. Mode of preparation of various

depilatories is described in the works on *Ayurveda* and in the *Kuchimara Tantra*

Purified *shankha bhasma* (calcium oxide) mixed with powdered *harital* (yellow sulphuret of Arsenic) and turned into a paste with the addition of the juice of the plantain tree, when applied to the root of the hair remove them in a short time"— *Kama Sastra.*

Dyeing the hair was also practised by the old Indian prostitutes. In the chapter on *Nagarsarvaswa* in the *Kama Sastra* there is a description of preparation of hairdye (*kalapa*)

Use of Perfumery—

There is a chapter on manufacture of perfumery (*gandhayukti*) in the ancient *Sanskrit* work *Brihat Samhita*

Perfumed hair oil and scented soaps were used for bath There is a mention of soap or *phenaka* in the *Kama Sastra* *

It was fashionable in those days to use perfumes like musk, agar sandal etc. on the body Juice of sandal wood or agar was frequently used for application on the fore head and other parts of the body Beautiful designs of leaves flowers etc were made with it on the forehead and breasts

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* निष्टा स्नानं विलेपकमुत्सादनं कृतोपकः फेनक ।
Kama Sutra Chap 13

The Fee of Prostitute

The fee of a girl was determined as at present by various factors

The better class courtesans who were much sought after set a high price on themselves

It is said that *Lakkhaka*, a prostitute, used to demand a lakh of rupees for a night

Ambapali of *Vesali* charged fifty *kahapanas*, while *Salavati* of *Rajagriha*, both contemporaries of *Buddha* charged one hundred *kahapanas* for one night.

Mode of Extraction of Money—

The prostitutes were already adept in extracting money on various pretexts

"If more money could be obtained in the natural way, do not take resort to devices." (3/1).

The following means were usually adopted by the courtesans for extraction of money—

Ornaments, food and drinks, dress, scents and other things,

"Make a pretext of *vrata*, dedication of trees, garden, temple, tank etc,

"Tell him through an intermediary that the ornaments borrowed and presented by him have been sold for meeting the expenses for his enjoyment."

"Take loans for him Quarrel with mother over the expenses for the paramour."

'Tell him the daily necessary expenses. He will certainly pay when he learns it.

'Make him hear the profits of rival courtesans (3/2 *Vatsayana*)

Discarding a Paramour—

Leave him when his money is exhausted (3/10 *Kama Sutra*)

GARDEN PARTIES AND OTHER ENJOYMENTS

The licentious rich men gave garden parties in which prostitutes played an important part.

In the forenoon men having dressed themselves should go to gardens on horseback accompained by public women and followed by servants And having done there all the duties of the day and passed the time in various agreeable diversions, such as fighting of cocks and rams and other spectacles, they should return home in the afternoon in the same manner bringing with them bunches of flowers etc.

Public Baths—

A public bath has been discovered in the prehistoric ruins at Mohendajaro.

Men went to sport in water in the summer in the company of public women Around these baths were established houses of prostitution

PUBLIC OPINION ON BROTHELS

The prostitute quarter was thought to be a necessary part of a town,

At a time when adultery was considered as the greatest of sins punishable even with death, prostitution was probably thought to be a safety valve for licentious men.

The brothel was considered to be an aid to the purity of family life, because it protected the sacred institution of marriage from adultery. If men could have their lust safisfied on public women, none would try to seduce married women and thus court severe punishment if caught.

According to *Vatsayana* the only female who can be legitimately resorted to by men are one's own wife and the public woman.

Vatsayana made a difference between unchaste women who want only satisfaction of lust and prostitutes allowing the use of their bodies for money.

Marriage with Prostitutes

Marriage with prostitutes was not looked down upon,

King *Pururba* of *Prayaga* (Allahabad) married *Urvashi* the celestial courtesan. Their son became king after *Pururba* (*Brahma Purana*, Chap. X.)

The great sage *Vasistha* was the son of a prostitute. A man was then judged by his learning and character and not by the accident of birth There would be no place for *Vasistha* if he were to born in modern Hindu society but in those days he was regarded as one of the greatest of Brahmins

There are similar examples of marriages bet ween prositutes and kings in the history of other ancient people. Emperor Justinian of Rome married Theodora, who had been a prostituted slave from her childhood *

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* ঊর্ব্বশী গর্ভসম্ভূতা বশিষ্ঠোপি মহামুনিঃ।
তপসা ব্রাহ্মণাতো তস্মাজ্জাতিরকারণম্।
Vajrasuchi Upanishad

POSITION OF PROSTITUTES IN SOCIETY

The prostitutes were sometimes patronised by kings and nobles. The dancing girls were a part of the court and were called *'raja vaishyas* (1) (royal prostitutes)

The celestial courtesans like *Urvashi, Rambha, Misrakeshi, Ghritachi* and others danced before the King of Heavens, (2). We have a vivid description of a lascivious dance in which there is mention of the movement of the hips and the breasts and glances of the pretty dancers (3).

Enjoyment in the company of courtesans was considered as a court etiquette, and even *Rama* while speaking with *Bharata* includes the company of prostitutes as a form of recreation. (4)

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(1) *Mahanirvana Tantra*

(2) ঘৃতাচি মেনকা রম্ভা পূর্ব্ব চিত্তিঃ স্বয়ম্প্রভা।
উর্ব্বশী মিশ্রকেশী চ দণ্ডগৌরী বরূথিনী॥
গোপালী সহজন্যা চ কুম্ভযোনিঃ প্রজাসরাঃ।
চিত্রসেনা চিত্রলেখা সহা চ মধুবস্বনা॥
Mahabharata, Banaparva, 43, 29-30.

(3) মহাকটিতটশ্রোণ্য কম্পমানৈ পয়োধরৈঃ।
কটাক্ষহাবমাধুর্যৈশ্চেতোবুদ্ধি মনোহরৈঃ॥
Mahabharata, Banaparva, 43, 32.

(4) কচিন্ন গণিকাশ্বানাং কুঞ্জরঞ্চ তৃপ্যসি—
Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, 100, 50.

Courtesans attended all ceremonies and accompanied royal processions.

When *Krishna* went to the *Kauravas* before the *Kurukshetra* war with proposal for peace, *Dhritarastra* sent courtesans to receive him

In the *Bhagavat* we find *Rukshini* the wife of *Krishna* going to the temple for worship accompanied by courtesans carrying the offerings (1)

After his victory in war *Raja Birat* ordered the beautiful courtesans to sing in accompaniment with instruments. (2)

Even during war courtesans accompanied the troops. During the war of the *Mahabharata* prostitutes were present in the camps (3)

The example of the kings was followed by the people and no shame attached to a visit to the house of a prostitute. The courtesans were educated and accomplished musicians and dancers (4) and the people wanted their company for these reasons. They were invited in large gatherings (5) and no public function was complete without them

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(1) *Bhagavat* 10 53 42
(2) *Mahabharata* 4 34 17-18
(3) *Mahabharata Udyogparva* 107 19
(4) Dubois —Description of the Character Manners Customs of the People of India (p 295)
(5) *Vatsayana—Kama Sutra* Chap IV *Gosthi-samavaya*

STATE CONTROL OF BROTHELS

There was a system of supervision of brothels in ancient India and *Kautilya* the great politician laid down rules for keeping the public women under control. (1)

The *Ganikas* were seggregated in the southern portion of a town. (2)

'A wise *Paridarshak* (superintendent) should be appointed to keep information about the health and pecuniary conditions of the *ganikas*. A young and active courtesan should be his assistant. There should be another prostitute under her for collecting information about opinion of different parties'. (3)

'It is the main duty of the superintendent to warn prostitutes if their expenses be more and think of other possibilities of maintenance if their income be less'. (4)

'The superintendent should keep watch over their professional honesty.' (5)

If a woman agreed to receive a visitor and then turned him away,she was liable to a fine, which

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(1) *Kautilya* : *Artha Sastra*, 2. Chap 28.
(2) (3), (4), (5) Ibid.

was twice according to *Jagnavalka* (1) and eight times of the fee agreed upon according to *Kautilya*. In case of quarrel between a woman and her paramour *Narada* (2) recommends arbitration by the elderly chief courtesans

The low class brothels were not safe and murders were not infrequent as is evident from the following passage in the *Buddhist Jataka* 'They do not flinch from going so far as to take the lives of persons who used to visit them every night with handsome fees. (3)

Kautilya advises search of brothels for arrest of thieves and swindlers

Provision for Prostitutes—

It was a duty of the state to make arrangement for prostitutes unable to earn their livelihood.

A good looking girl received training in music and dancing at the expense of the state.

An unattractive woman could adopt the profession of a midwife (*matrika*) or nurse (4)

As regards old prostitutes they were appointed as maid servants of the queen or given some work in the palace.

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(1) *Jagnavalka* 2 295
(2) *Narada* 7 20
(3) Cowell *Jataka* III p 40
(4) *Kautilya* 2 Chap 28

These steps were however not meant for reclamation of the fallen women, but were rather an encouragement to them. They knew that the state would come to their aid in their bad times.

Attempt at Suppression of Brothels—

At the time of *Manu* the Great Hindu lawgiver the standard of morality of the people had already become higher. The company of prostitutes was no longer tolerated and the prostitute had become an outcaste. *Gautama* (1) forbade taking meal at the house of a public woman (*Pungschali*)—an act which was not formerly considered as improper, as is evident from the *Mrichchakatik* where a Brahmin messenger of *Charudatta* asks for some food from the courtesan *Vasantasena*

According to *Parasara* sexual connection with a prostitute is as despicable as intercourse with animals (2). *Manu* (3) calls prostitutes (*panya yosita* or a woman who is an object for sale) an enemy of mankind (*lokakantaka*).

Even in the *Mahabharata* we find advice to a king for suppression of wine and prostitutes (4).

(1) *Gautama*—Chap. 17.
(2) *Parashara*—10, 15.
(3) *Manu*—9 259.
(4) *Mahabharata*—12, 88, 14-15.

Much additional matter was interloped in the original work by different persons at different times and this portion must have been written in a later period.

Brihaspati recommends punishment for prostitution (1)

Gautama goes further and in his law there is no punishment for killing a prostitute ! He says— For killing a woman who subsists by harlotry nothing at all ' (2).

(1) *Brihaspati*—22 9

(2) *Gautama* (*Buhler's Translation*)—XXII

WINE AND WOMEN

Wine and women : it is a time honoured combination.

Drinking is not tolerated by the modern Hindu society and no man of any social position would dare to drink openly.

But there is evidence to show that the habit of drinking was common in the prehistoric days at least on ceremonial occasions.

The *Vedic* gods drank *'soma'* a kind of intoxicating drink prepared from some plant

Kamandaka in his *Nitisara* says. "An educated man may have sexual relations with women or drink wine in *moderation.*" (XV 66).

But the author also knew the evil effects of drinking. He writes, "Though the *Andhakas* and *Yadavas* of *Vrishni* race were learned in the *Shastras* (sacred literature), of good character and powerful, and were very famous, they were destroyed as a result of excessive drinking.

"The sage *Sukracharya*, son of *Vrigu* and as intelligent as the latter, ate his own disciple *Kacha* when he was very drunk.

"A drunkard wherever employed cannot do

his work regularly and becomes useless (XV 63-65)

The prostitute of today drinks as much wine as she can get. The courtesans of those days did also the same.

According to *Kama Sutra* a work on sexual science— Men and women should drink in one another s houses And here the men should cause the public women to drink and should then drink themselves liquors such as the *madhu aiseya sara* and *asava* which are of bitter and sour taste also drinks prepared from the bark of the various trees with fruits and leaves

In the *Mahabharata* (12 88 14-15) there is an advice to a king for prohibition of wine The Hindu religious works also forbid drinking

MALE PROSTITUTES

There are persons who are attracted to individuals of the same sex. The homo-sexual man is drawn to males, while the homo-sexual woman is attracted to females. Homo-sexuality is an abnormal sexual instinct and has existed since the dawn of history.

In ancient Greece there were boy and men prostitutes and after Plato's time homosexual prostitution became general.

From the writings of *Vatsayana* we find the existence of homosexual practice which was however looked down upon. The ennuchs were employed for this purpose and *Vatsayana* gave a warning to young men against these people.

"There is scattered all over the country, though in a very small number a class of people known as ennuchs,

"These persons are neither men nor women in the strict sense of the word, In some of them the sexual organs are entirely absent, in others they are of stunted growth or malformed, but there are some in whom the sexual organs are normally developed and are exactly like the organs of a man or woman.

But the peculiar fact in all the ennuchs is that their sexual desires and longings are quite the opposite of what they are in normal men and women

These people do not enter into bonds of marriage because they have no love for the opposite sex On the contrary they love their own sex that is male ennuchs love men and the female ennuchs women

"The feeling and desires of a female ennuch being like those of women he often disguises himself in the female dress and imitates the females in speech gestures tenderness timidity simplicity softness and bashfulness

"The female ennuch possesses feelings and desires of men and disguised as a man carries on different occupations especially that of shampooing

These ennuchs entice youngmen and women but especially the former to their secret abodes and entreat or press them to have sexual relations with them The ennuch in general takes delight in playing the passive role and the innocent young men and women enticed by them are urged to have sexual relations with them not in the normal way but by using other orifices of the body

Now all the teachers (*acharyas*) are of opi-

nion that the *unnatural doings of the ennuchs are the works of dogs* and not of a man."

"*Vatsayana* is of opinion that the ennuchs should be avoided by all good, right-thinking men not only because the actions of ennuchs are uncleanly, but because, by mixing with ennuchs, a normal man may acquire the tendency of an ennuch and may become perverted"—*Kama Sastra*

REDEMPTION OF PROSTITUTES

In the Hindu Period

Pingala—

In the city of *Bideha*, there lived a prostitute named *Pingala*.

Dressed in her best attire she waited at the door at the usual time

She looked at the passers by going in the direction of her house as some prospective rich visitor When however they passed by she thought that some other rich person may come to her and pay her much With the hope of seeing a rich customer she stood awake at the door After a while she went inside and then again came out It was already night and she was unhappy

Pingala became disgusted with her life of shame

She thought how unfortunate she was to crave for fleeting wealth and paramour when she could pray to God and have eternal bliss

I have wanted money and sexual enjoyment from licentious and avaricious men through the medium of my body hired by them"

Pingala made up her mind to leave the life of

shame and become good from that day. Then she had a good sleep and her mind was at peace.*

During Buddhist Period

Buddha made an attempt at conversion of prostitutes from their paths of sin. Many a penitent courtesan abandoned her shameful calling to join the devoted band of preachers and expiated her sins by a life of self-sacrifice in the service of suffering humanity. The Buddhist works contain many narratives of remarkable conversions of this character.

What *Buddha* did for these unfortunate women shines as a bright light in history.

The contribution made by some of these women was also a real one.

Ambapali.—

In the town of *Vaisali*, the capital of a powerful republic, there lived a lovely courtesan named *Ambapali*. She was brought up by a mango gardener and was known as *Ambapali* (mango gardener's girl). *Ambapali* was not only beautiful, but also an accomplished girl. She was versed in dancing and music and charged fifty *kahapanas* for one night. Admirers showered her with jewels and money and she seemed to be happy.

One day *Buddha* came to *Vaisali* and *Amba-*

* *Bhagavat*, XI Chap, 8

pali invited him to his house What made her invite a man who had renounced his kingdom? Was it curiosity reverence or instinct of conquest of a saint?

When the *Licchavis* came to know of the acceptance of the hospitality of *Ambapali* by *Buddha* they thought themselves humiliated They requested *Ambapali* to give up the idea of bringing *Buddha* in her house and offered her money

But to their astonishment *Ambapali* refused money—probably for the first time in her life She retorted My lords I would not give up so great an honour even if you offer me the whole of *Vaisali* *Ambapali* would not sell her chance to offer a meal to a man who begged for his food from door to door even for a fabulous sum!

The nobles then approached *Buddha* and pressed him to accept their invitation As the leaders of the town they claimed the privilege of honouring the great master But *Buddha* would not withdraw his word

Next morning *Buddha* went to the house of *Ambapali* with his disciples The woman sat at his feet and a great change came into her mind She dedicated her all to *Buddha* and renounced the world

Ambapali lived the ideal life of a nun Even

to this day people all over the *Buddhist* world bow their heads in reverence to the memory of the saintly nun—*Ambapali.*

Padmavati—

Padmavati was a beautiful courtesan of *Ujjain* an ancient city in Central India.

King *Bimbisara* of *Magadha* heard of her beauty and went to *Ujjain* only for her. She spent a night with the king and had a child by him.

When the child was seven years old he was sent to the king who kept him in his palace. There he came in touch with *Buddha* and became his disciple

Padmavati heard from her son the new message of hope and salvation and became a nun (1)

Addhakasi—

Addhakasi was the daughter of a rich banker of *Kasi*, but she left the path of virtue and became a courtesan.

When she heard the teachings of *Buddha*, her mind was changed and she decided to abandon her calling and live a holy life. She intended to go to *Sravasthi* for the purpose, but could not do so through fear of molestation by some wicked people. She then sent information to *Buddha*, who sent a nun to her

Addhakasi tried hard to learn the philo-

(1) *Therigatha* Commentary p,p. 89-40.

sophy of *Buddhism* and became a very learned nun

Sirima—

Sirima was a very beautiful courtesan of *Raja griha* (modern *Rajgir*) and was the daughter of *Salavati* She was celebrated for her skill as a dancer and musician and her fee was one thousand *kahapanas* (rupees) per night.

Now at that time there lived in the same city a rich man named *Sumana* son of the treasurer His wife *Uttara* was devoted to *Buddha* while her husband was very sensual

Uttara engaged the services of *Sirima* in order to satisfy the lust of her husband so that she might be free to attend to her religious duties !

It was a strange example of a wife engaging a prostitute for her husband

One day when *Buddha* came to *Uttara's* house, *Sirima* listened to his teachings and from that day she renounced her life of shame and pleasure.

When *Sirima* died King *Bimbisara* at the request of *Buddha* preserved her body so that it could be seen by the people By a royal proclamation all the citizens were compelled to see *Sirima's* dead body daily under penalty of a fine *Sirima* was celebrated for her beauty After seeing the corpse daily the monks and the people

realised how transitory is a human body. Such a lovely body which was coveted by kings and princes, became rotten, worm-eaten and at last nothing but the bones were left. It proved that beauty is but skin deep (*Dhammapada* Commentary III 106-109).

MUHAMMEDAN PERIOD

Private Brothels—Concubinage

The *nabobs* and nobles were so degraded that they did not feel any shame in keeping concubines and prostitutes even in their houses They did not scruple to trample on the sanctity of the *harem* and turned their homes into private brothels

The *nabobs* and Muhammedan noblemen who could afford the luxury kept *harems* peopled by young girls of good beauty who ministered to their pleasures In most cases there was very little difference between such *harems* and modern brothels. The only difference being that a seraglio of this nature was reserved for the satisfaction of lust of a single man while a brothel is visited by succession of men After the death of a noble the women with the exception of the wives changed hands The successor of a *nabob* even sometimes his son, did not think it improper to enjoy the women left by his predecessor They were treated as kept mistresses.

Recruitment of Girls

Many of the women were foreigners and were slaves recruited from Persia America and even

Europe. There was a great demand for these foreign girls,especially of blue eyed Georgians on account of their fair snow-white complexion.

The concubines procured from the Christian and other non-Muhammedan races were forced to declare themselves converted.

The number of women in a *harem*, depen-dend on the means of the owner.

Akbar the illustrious Moghul emperor, maintained a seraglio in which there were 5000 women, and it had a separate staff of women officers who looked after its management (1)

The nobles followed the kings' example and spent lavishly on mistresses and dancing girls. 'The Governors fill and adorn their *mahals* with beautiful women, and seem to have the pleasure house of the whole world within their walls'. (2)

Life of a Concubine

These girls served the passions of their master and the poor wives of the nobility of those days had to endure the debauchery of their husbands Their only solace was that the concubines and slave girls did not share the rank or wealth of their husbands.

It was customary with these *Nabobs* to present

1 Blochmann,—*Ain-i-Akbari*, I Ain 15, pp. 44-43.

2 *Jehangir's India.*

some of the women to their favourite courtiers and friends The women were regarded as chattels to be sold presented or hired out by her owner

The concubines and favourite slave girls led a pleasant and idle life. Much of their time was spent in decking their beautiful persons and in displaying or increasing their powers of fascination. To become the favourite of the *nabob* was their highest ambition A favourite woman lived in splendour while a woman who displeased the master might even be killed. Favour and frown of the master therefore played a large part in the lives of these unfortunate women

The sons of the Muhammedan nobles were brought up in the *harem* in the company of these corrupted women and eunuchs and imbibed their degrading vices The nobles and the men in highest position in the state were licentious and debauch

Concubinage was practised by the nobility without reference to public opinion The people Hindu and Muhammedan were generally God fearing and virtuous and did not follow the example of the degenerate *nabobs* The *harem* was regarded by them as a vicious luxury

Wives on Hire—

Among the Shia Muhammedans there is a peculiar custom of hiring wives for a certain period This is known as the *Mota* marriage

A Typical Harem—

'The *mahals* are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality wanton and reckless festivity superfluous pomp inflated pride and ornamental daintiness while the servants of the lords may justly be described as a generation of iniquity greed and oppression, for their masters They make hay while the sun shines

As a rule they have three or four wives the daughters of worthy men but the senior wife commands most respect. All live together in the enclosure surrounded by high walls which is called the *mahal* having tanks and gardens inside

Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves of whom there may be 10 or 20 or 100 according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her expenditure. Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection Their food comes from one kitchen but each wife takes it in her own apartments for they hate each other secretly though they seldom or never allow it to be seen because of their desire to retain the favour of their husband whom they fear honour and worship as a god rather than a man

Each night he visits a particular wife or

mahal, and receives a very warm welcome from her and from the slaves, who dressed specially for the occasion seem to fly, rather than run about their duties If it is the hot weather, they undress the husband as soon as he comes in and rub his body with pounded sandalwood and rose-water, or some other scented and cooling oil. Fans are kept going steadily in the room or in the open air, where they usually sit Some of the slaves chafe the master's hands and feet, some sit and sing, or play music and dance, or provide other recreation, the wife sitting near him all the time. They study night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as *mossen* or *faloni*, containing amber, pearls, gold, opium and other stimulants ; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the daytime because they produce a pleasant elevation of the spirit.

'In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands, and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years.

'The husband sits like a golden cock among the gilded hens until midnight, or until passion or drink, sends him to bed.

'Then if one of the pretty slave girls takes his fancy, he calls her to him and enjoys her, his

wife not daring to show any sign of displeasure but dissembling though she will take it out of the slave girl later on.

Two or three ennuchs or more who are merely purchased slaves but are usually faithful to their master are appointed for each wife, to ensure that she is seen by no man except her husband and if a ennuch fails in this duty he with everyone else to blame for the stranger s presence, is in danger of losing his life They are thus held in great esteem by their master but the women pay them still greater regard for the whole management of the *mahal* is in their hands and they can give or refuse whatever is wanted. Thus they can get whatever they desire—fine horses to ride servants to attend them outside, and female slaves inside the house clothes as fine and smart as those of their master himself The wives feel themselves bound to do all this inorder that what happens in the house may be concealed from their husband s knowledge for many or perhaps most of them so far forget themselves that when their husband has gone away either to court or to some place where he takes only his favourite wife and leaves the rest at home, they allow the ennuch to enjoy them according to his ability and thus gratify their burning passions when they have

no opportunity of going out ; but otherwise they spare no craft or trouble to enable them to enjoy themselves outside,

'These wretched women wear, indeed, the most expensive clothes, eat the daintiest food, and enjoy all worldly pleasures except one, and for that one they grieve, saying they would willingly give everything in exchange for a beggar's poverty " (1)

Harem of the Nabobs of Bengal—

The licentious nabobs and nobles of Bengal filled their *harems* with their wives and concubines. They sent panders to the country to find beautiful girls

These women were guarded by ennuchs, but infidelity and debauchery were very common.

Noajis Muhamed the uncle of *Serajuddowla* had a favourite servant named *Hosein Kuli Khan.* This man repaid his master's generosity by forming illicit connection with his wife *Ghasiti Begum.* Later on *Hosein* became the favourite paramour of *Amina Begum* the mother of the *Nabob.*

Mutaqherin says "At that time there happe-

1 *Jehangir's India*—the Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert. Translated from the Dutch by Moreland and Geyl. W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1925.

ned a little misunderstanding between her (*Ghasiti Bibi*) and *Hosein Kuli Khan* for an inconsiderable subject which it would be improper to mention (*Vol II p* 123 *n*)

Ghulam Hosein in his comments on this passage says— What the author calls an inconsiderable subject is by no means an inconsiderable one for ladies *Hosein Kuli Khan* who was what they call in English a handsome stout black man had quitted the princess for her younger sister *Amina Bēgum* of amorous memory mother of *Seraj ud-doiola*

Later on *Ghulam Hosein* was murdered at the instigation of the *Nabob*

Fancy fair (*Khusroj*)—

A whimsical kind of fair is sometimes held in the royal seraglio it is conducted by the handsomest and most engaging of the wives of the *Omrahs* and principal *Mansabdars* These bewitching females act the part of traders while the purchasers are the King the *Begums* or Princesses and other distinguished ladies of the *Seraglio* (1)

Badaoni the fearless historian of *Akbar's* reign was opposed to these fairs

1 Travels in the Mogul Empire, A D 1656-1668) by Francois Bernier Trans by A Constable. Oxford University Press

"*Shah Jehan* was fond of the sex and introduced fairs at every festival, though not always to the satisfaction of some of the *Omrahs*. He certainly transgressed the bounds of decency in admitting at these times into the seraglio singing- and dancing girls called *Kanchans* and in keeping them there for that purpose the whole night" (*Bernier*)

CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTION

The women of the Muhammedan nobility were generally corrupt and carried on love intrigues The motive was mainly satisfaction of lust but though the element of actual payment in money was generally absent indirect payment such as many luxuries and gifts which are obtained from a lover were there Secret prostitution became general among the women living in the vicious atmosphere of the harems

Houses of Assignation—

Under pretext of a pilgrimage. they (secluded ladies) used to come without reproach to see and perhaps even speak to their lovers.

Assignations were made in the gardens which are numerous in the neighbourhood and there passion was given the food for which it hungered and for which in the case of many no opportunity could be found on any other day

On such occasions new passions were aroused by the sight of a handsome youth who took the lady s fancy and while *she* saw *him he* might not be able to see her *(Jehangir s India)*

DANCING GIRLS

Classes of Dancers—

(a) Persian dancing girls—

"*Lolonis*, who are descended form courtesans-who have come from Persia to India, and sing only in Parsian" *(Jehangir's India*, p. 83) The word *'lolonis'* points to the Persian *loli*, public singer

(b) "*Domnis*, who sing in Hindustani and whose songs are considered more beautiful, more amorous, and more profound than those of the Persians, while their tunes are superior ; they dance, too, to the rhythm of the songs with a kind of swaying of the body which is not lascivious, but rather modest" *(Jehangir's India*, p 83*)* *Domnis* are recorded in Crook's *Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces* as a sub-caste under the group *Tawaif*.

(c) "*Hockenis*, who have various styles of singing and dancing, but who are all alike accommodating people." *(ibid)* These *hockenis* may represent the sub-caste *Harakiya*.

(c) *Kenchens (the gilded, the blooming)*—

"They were not indeed the prostitutes seen in bazars, but those of a more private and respectable class, who attend the grand wedding

of *Omrahs* and *Mansebdars* for the purpose of singing and dancing Most of these *Kenchens* are handsome and welldressed and sing to perfection and their limbs being extremely supple, they dance with wonderful agility and are always correct in regard to time, after all however they were but common women (1)

Bernier writes thus of *Shah Jchan*— When they (*Kenchens*) came to him on the Wednesdays to pay their reverance at the *Amkhas* according to an ancient custom he often detained them the whole night and amused himself with their antics and follies

1 Travels in the Mogul Empire A D 165?-1658 by Bernier

DESCRIPTION OF A SOUTH INDIAN BROTHEL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Abdur Razzak was a native of *Hirat* and visited Southern India in the fifteenth century. There is a beautiful description of a brothel in the city of *Vijaynagar* in his book *Matla'u-s Sa'dain.*

"Opposite the mint is the office of the Prefect of the city to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached ; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 fanams, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendours of these houses, the beauty of the heart ravishers, their blandishments and ogles are beyond all description It is best to be brief on the matter.

"One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 yards broad On two sides of it there are houses (khanaha) and forecourts (safhaha), and in front of the houses instead of benches (kursi), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive.

"After the time of midday prayers they place

at the doors of these houses which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees on which the courtesans seat themselves

Everyone is covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments.

They are all exceedingly young and beautiful

Each has one or two slave girls standing before her who invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure

Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will

The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them and if anything is lost they are dismissed

There are several brothels within these seven fortresses and the revenues of them which as stated before amount to 12 000 fanams go to pay the wages of the policemen

STORIES OF COURTESANS

Anarkali—

Those who have visited Lahore have probably seen the tomb of *Anarkali*. This memorial immortalises the love of the Moghul Emperor *Jehangir* for a dancing girl

The girl was rescued from the hands of brigands and sent from Kabul to the court of *Akbar*. When *Akbar* saw this beautiful girl, he ordered her to be enlisted as a dancing girl of the court. The court poet gave her the name *Anarkali*, which means in Urdu a pomegranate blossom. It was by this name that she was known in history.

The young prince *Selim* (later known as Emperor *Jehangir*) saw the girl and became enamoured of her She also fell in love with him. Both of them secretly met at night in a garden near the palace.

The love affairs however soon reached the ears of *Birbal* the private tutor of the prince. He did not like the intimacy of the prince with a dancing girl.

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* History of India As Told by its Own Historians, Ed. by Sir H B Eliot Vol IV Trubner & Co, London

The matter came to a head one day when *Anarkali* was dancing before the emperor While dancing her eyes met those of the prince and a smile passed over her lips. *Akbar* who noticed it, became angry at this breach of court etiquette and sent her to prison

Birbal took this opportunity to tell the emperor about the love episodes of the prince with the girl It was decided to remove the girl and thus save *Selim* from her clutches

A mock trial was held and the judge at the instigation of *Birbal* condemned *Anarkali* to death The unfortunate girl was buried alive

The prince never forgave *Birbal* for bringing the matter into the ears of the emperor *Birbal* was murdered shortly after his accession to the throne

Jehangir built a tomb at the outskirts of Lahore on the site where *Anarkali* died The following inscriptions, written by *Jehangir* may still be seen on it— Ah could I behold only once the face of my beloved. I would thank the Lord to the day of my resurrection

Lal Kunwar—

Lal Kunwar was a famous concubine of Emperor *Jahandar Shah* of Delhi She was the daughter of *Khasusiat Khan* a descendant of *Tan Sen* the well known musician of *Akbar's* court (1)

(1) Blochmann Ain i p 612.

said that an annual allowance of two
f Rupees (about £2,000,000 sterling) was
or her household expenses exclusive of
and jewels. She was allowed to display
erial umbrella, the emblem of royalty and
with drums beating as if she had been
or in person,
writer says that the days of *Nurjehan*
iv d for her, It is said that coins were
the name of *Lal Kunwar*. as they had
that of *Nurjehan* the favourite queen
gir ; but such coins of *Lal Kunwar* if
ed, have not come down to us,
are many stories of the freaks of this
s monarch. *Jahandar Shah* openly went
in a bullock carriage and made pur-
t the shops in the bazar.
night after a day spent in debauchery,
ered the house of a spirit seller and
ether till they were intoxicated,
shrine of *Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Oudhi*,
known as the *Chiragh-i-Dilhi* is visited
e who have no offspring, The pilgrims
i in the tank in the shrine every
r forty weeks. *Lal Kunwar* was an
woman and wanted to have a son by
ror. She probably dreamed of becoming
r of an Emperor. In the company of
she went every Sunday to the shrine

and both of them bathed there stark naked. It is not known whether the saint fulfilled their desire

Nur Bai—the Woman who Charmed Nadir Shah—

The heart of *Nadir Shah* the heartless King of *Persia who plundered Delhi and massacred* its inhabitants was conquered by a dancing girl of Delhi named *Nur Bai Nadir Shah* was so highly fascinated by her music that he paid her Rs 4500 and wanted to take her to *Persia* with him *Nur Bai* apparently did not relish the idea of leaving India for the king It was with difficulty that she could save herself from his favours.

EARLY EUROPEAN SOCIETY IN INDIA

"Drunkenness gambling and profane swearing were almost universally practised The public journals testify to the 'absence of decency and propriety of behaviour' in social life. In December 1780, one of them complains that "Europeans of all ranks" ordinarily made Christmas festivties a "plea for absolute drunkenness and obscenity of conversation etc., that is, while they were able to articulate at all ;" and urged that respectable men ought not to subject their wives to such impure and injurious associations Another paper, in 1788, complained of "a very general depravity of conversation and manners, both in mixed and male societies,"such as he "hoped, for the honor of human nature, was not the case in other countries" (1)

The Portuguese

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, *Goa* was a centre of Portuguese civilisation in India

The Portuguese society in Goa became greatly debased.

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(1) Good old Days of Hon. John Company, Vol II. Compiled by W. H Carey 1882

The gambling houses were run under the patronage of the Government and were the resort of dancing girls and the haunts of fashion and iniquity

The Portuguese ladies of Goa obtained an unenviable name. They lounged idly half-dressed singing, playing quarrelling gossiping with their flattering slaves and specially devising means to elude the vigilance of their husbands A lady valued herself in her female coterie upon the number and daring of her intrigues The hardihood with which the Portuguese matrons pursued their amours was simply amazing They did not scruple to stupefy the husband with drugs and then admit the paramour into her chamber (2)

The French

There were many French in India and most of them took concubines

General De Boigne's Concubines—

General De Boigne an European adventurer of the 18th century who rose to fame and power had two concubines

There is an interesting letter written from Delhi most probably by the *Maratha* envoy at

(2) Hunter Sir W W A History of British India Vol I. P 156-57 326.
Da Fonseca—p. 162

EA*ghul* court in the month of September 1790
a Fadnavis the great *Maratha* minister,
the *Mo*bstance is that De Boigne the *Firanghi*
to *Nan*come to Delhi and his marriage settlement
Its sul 's (illegible) daughter, *Moti Begum*.
having ncing girl, having been (previously)
with .. d the marriage was performed there. Now
the da er 1790 was the month of one of the
arrange's greatest triumphs, the battle of *Merta*.
Septem rriage was probably celebrated by Moslem
General
This ma -Genis in his *Life of General De Boigne*
rites. ntions his marriage with a *Persian* girl,
Saint afterwards called Mrs. Bennet
also me 6 the General returned to Europe and
who was Mlle d' Osmond at the French Catholic
In 17 in London. The General's action in
married Mlle d'Osmond during the life time of
Chapel wife 'Mrs. Bennet' would have been
marrying and invalid had he been married to her
his othe istian ceremony.
bigamous eresting to note that in 1801 De Boigne
by a Chr his succesor in India, Perron—

It is in ing myself seriously embarrassed by
wrote to of my estimable friend General Martin
"Findit of the pensions which I am paying
the death women, one residing at Koil and the
on accou Delhi, and being apprehensive that they
to two
other at I

may not receive the 82 rupees a month I beg you to attend to the matter

One of these women was taken to Paris by the General and embraced the Catholic religion She resided till her death under the name of Mrs Bennet on a property which she had acquired in the country of Sussex Her son *Aly Bux* (a Muhammedan name) became afterwards Count Charles Alexandre Benoit De Boigne !

English Society

The English society in India in the days of the East India Company was corrupt

'The following caution appears in the advertising columns of the Calcutta Gazette of the 23rd February 1797 — A certain person who made her appearance amongst the company in the auditory on the first night of performance is desired to take notice that in future she will not be permitted to remain in the house should she be so ill advised as to repeat her visit Theatre Wheler place (1)

The lives of Madame Grand and Lola Monte will give an idea of the social life of European women in those days

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(1) The Good Old Days of Hon. John Company

Madame Grand—

This lady, born at Martinique. was the daughter of M. Werlee, Capitaine du Port,and Chevalior de Saint Louis. She was married to M. Grand before she had attained her sixteenth year, and in less than twelve months of her marriage had formed a warm friendship for Mr (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis.

The husband brought an action against Francis in the Supreme Court and on the 6th May 1779, obtained a verdict against him with Rs, 50,000 damages. The judges were Sir Elijah Impey, Sir Edward Hyde and Sir Robert Chambers.

After the discovery of her liaison, Madame Grand went to Hooghly and lived there for some time under Francis's protection ; she then sailed for England and there met Talleyrand whom she accompained to Paris.

Lola Montez—

The adventuress Lola Montez was at beginning of her career Mrs. James wife of an impecunious lieutenant stationed at Karnal. She came to Simla and "drove every other women with pretentions to beauty quite distracted." Her strange career reads like a romance and the hills of Simla and the throne of Bavaria seem so very

far apart. She died at the age of 38 in the purlieus of New York. A short life and in patches a very gay one but even here the shadows deepened before the close and the Story of a Penitent makes rather pathetic reading

Inmorality in English Girl Schools in *India*—

'The creatures who sometimes set themselves up as teachers of morality and inserted flaming advertisements of the scholastic and moral education they would afford to all children male and female entrusted to their charge must have been of a very low stamp indeed if we are to judge of the class from a single instance given in a trial held in the supreme court of Calcutta on the 10th June 1807

A school mistress was brought up on a charge of prostituting one of her scholars for money The result of the trial was the acquittal of the person indicted, from the indictment being erroneously laid however the Chief Justice made a most serious address to the offender stating the great infamy of her conduct,and the scandalous abuse of the character she had assumed—the mistress of a public school' (1)

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(1) The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company Vol. II.

Concubines Of Englishmen In India

"Nearly all the unmarried European—and few were married in those days—lived in acknowledged concubinage with native women. In 1810 a work, called *The East Indian Vade Mecum*, was published by Captain Thomas Williamson. It was intended to contain a compendium of information valuable to persons about to settle in India, and was dedicated to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, as designed partially to be a guide to young gentlemen in their service. In this work concubinage is regarded as a matter of ordinary necessity, and advice is given as to the female establishment a young man should set up, its proper cost, etc The impossibility of marriage with English women is shown, by the declaration that an English lady could not be landed in India, under respectable circumstances throughout, for less than £ 500 , and the connexions recommended are justified by the statement that 'the number of European women to be found in Bengal and its dependencies cannot amount to two hundred and fifty ; while the European male inhabitants of respectability including military officers, may be taken at about four thousand."

"As an evidence of the morality of the day we insert an advertisement of a house for sale by

the auctioneers Faria Williams and Hohler in 180 — A garden house and ground situate at Taltolah Bazar which to any gentleman about to leave India who may be solicitious to provide for an Hindoostanee female friend will be found a most desirable purchase etc (1)

1 The Good Old Days of Hon. John Company

THE SLAVE TRADE

In The Early Hindu Period

Mentions of slavery are occasionally found in the ancient Hindu literature, but there was apparently no organised traffic in men and women.

King *Harish Chandra* was renowned for his charity. When Viswamitra asked from him his kingdom, he gladly gave it to him. But the sage was not satisfied with it and demanded more money In order to meet his demands, *Harish Chandra* sold his wife and himself as slaves and gave the money to *Viswamitra.*

Poor parents occasionally sold their sons or daughters to kings or the rich people. These slaves were kindly treated.

Gautama forbade Brahmins to keep any slave.

Jajnavalka ordered release of a slave—

(*i*) who has been made a slave by force ·

(*ii*) who has saved the life of his master ;

(*iii*) who has repaid his debt.

Kautilya was also against slavery.

In The Muhammedan Period

With the invasion of India by the barbarous hordes of Tartars and Mongols, the traffic in men

and women became more organised and a danger to the country

Men and women captured by them in their frequent raids on towns were sold in slave markets like animals Many men and women of good families suddenly found themselves slaves after a surprise attack by these plunderers or the defeat of their tribe in war

After the Muhammedan conquest of India this slave trade flourished under the encouragement of the kings

A slave girl who could dance and sing or play a musical instrument was worth much in the slave market There was a great demand for such girls in the *harems* of the kings and the nobility

A Muhammedan cannot take under the law more than four wives But the *harem* of the Muhammedan kings was full of concubines and slave girls.

The slaves were generally kindly treated

In the harems of the kings there was often very little difference between a favourite slave girl and a legally married wife An illegitimate child could sometime inherit the property of his mother's paramour When a slave girl gave birth to a son she was generally freed

The slaves of kings often captured the throne and the Slave Dynasty of Delhi was a notable example

A Muhammedan sometimes freed his slaves at the time of his death.

Male slaves were often castrated and employed as guards in the harems

The slaves were all non-Muhammedans either Hindus, Christians or Negros. No Muhammedan was employed as a slave

IN THE EARLY DAYS OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

"The Portuguese in the last century were the propagators of the slavery system, as the ruins of many fine places in the Sunderbans testify."

"The slave trade formerly carried on by Muscat, from Zanzibar to Scinde, in *Hubshys* and *Abyssinians*, was so considerable, that 600 young people, of whom three-fourths were girls were imported into Kurrachee every year: *Geoi gians* were occasionally imported for the *harems* of the rich. The price of an *Abyssinian* girl was sometimes as high as 250 rupees," (1)

"Slaves of both sexes are generally purchased from Hindu or Hindusthani mothers; a young girl will bring according to her age and usefulness from Rs. 16—100. The traffic is generally resorted to by the Catholics to supply themselves with domestics and I am sorry to say a few who profess the Protestant faith,.. . are also concerned in this inhuman traffic." (2)

(1) Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company.
(2) Bengal Chronicle, February 1831

It is a historical fact that at one time the Company (East India Company) itself engineered traffic in slaves as a highly profitable concern (1)

Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the katchery or court house and in 1752 we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees and four annas to the East India Company for such registry (2)

Among the Bengalee slaves— numbers date this condition from a famine or scarcity when men sell their children for bread and others are stolen from their parents by *brinjarries* or grain carriers (3)

Female slaves in almost every instance are sold to prostitution (4)

Female children and grown up young women are bought by all ranks (5)

Future Prospects of a Slave—

Some, it is true rise to be favourite mistresses of their masters and enjoy both power and luxury whilst others are raised by the success of their sons but these are exceptions Female slaves in this condition are not permitted to marry Sometimes they are cruelly treated but not generally (6)

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(1) Bengal Past and Present, Vol II

2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Good Old Days of Honble John Company

INTRODUCTION OF SYPHILIS IN INDIA

Syphilis was unknown in ancient India until the advent of the Portuguese ; but there is evidence that Gonorrhoea and soft chancre existed long before them

In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America. Among other things the New World contributed to Europe tobacco, potatoes and syphilis Syphilis became epidemic in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. After the discovery of the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese came to India and spread this dreadful infection.

The new disease spread with great rapibity as is the case with every new malady.

There is no mention of syphilis in Sanskrit works The word *jayanya* (জায়ান্য) in the *Atharva-Veda* (7, 7, 81, 1) has been explained by Bloomfield as syphilis, but according to *Sayanacharya*, the great commentator and Zimmer it means phthisis. The ancient Hindu medical authorities like *Charaka* and *Susruta* did not describe syphilis. The disease is first mentioned in the *Bhabaprakasa*, under the name of *Feringhi Roga* (Portuguese Disease) and mercurial preparations are recommended in its treatment.

Venereal diseases are still more common among the European residents and Anglo Indians than among the natives of India

The Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1926 (vol II p 14) shows a higher incidence of venereal diseases among British soldiers

Amongst the British Soldiers venereal diseases accounted for 3530 admissions to hospitals representing a ratio of 62.1 per 1000 '

So far as Indian troops are concerned page 28 of the same report says 'These venereal diseases accounted for 2122 admissions to the hospital which gives a ratio of 15 7 per 1000

The incidence of these diseases due to immorality were therefore *four* times as great among British troops as among Indian troops

THE
MODERN PROSTITUTE

TYPE OF PROSTITUTES

There is a wide diversity among the various grades of prostitutes found in India.

These women are divided into grades in accordance with—

(i) Their personal charms and accomplishment,

(ii) Place of residence

(iii) Clientele.

Public Prostitutes

Women who openly permit the sexual use of their body are generally classed as public prostitutes.

High class prostitutes—

The first class prostitutes generally do not stand at their doors or verandahs and depend for their clients on male friends or pimps These girls are young and beautiful and are fashionable in their dress. It is sometimes very difficult to suspect their real character from their appearance and dress. These girls are the aristocracy of the brothels and are in most cases accomplished musicians. Some of them are educated and intelligent

These girls live in luxury and their visitors belong to fashionable society and rich men who resort to the cities at all seasons of the year

Some of these women took a leading part in the last election campaigns. The Montague Chelmsford Reforms Scheme enfranchised women but most of the respectable ladies avoided the voting booths on account of purdah and the inmates of the brothels suddenly found themselves of great importance.

One woman named *Saheb Puti* so-called because of her white complexion took a leading part and her co-operation was greatly sought by the political leaders It is said that some of the candidates lavishly spent money on the girls to get their votes and also those of their friends In the sake of public morality and decency the public women should not be entitled to vote

These women try to live a respectable life as far as possible and the requirements of common decency are not openly violated The scenes of gross indelicacy and rowdysm common in low class brothels are not seen here

Venereal disease is less among this class of women great attention being paid to personal cleanliness.

The Roadside harlots—

The roadside harlot gives herself to any man who can pay a moderate fee varying from a few

annas to several rupees for a night. Most of them entertain more than one visitors in a night.

(a) The more fortunate girls have well furnished rooms in the first or second floor of houses on public streets and earn more than their sisters in the *bustees*. Some of them have knowledge of music and dancing and draw men who have a taste for such entertainments. They generally stand on the verandah or at the door on the street.

The prostitutes of Upper Chitpur Road and Harkata Lane of Calcutta belong to this type. Some of them charge high fees varying from two to fifty rupees per night.

(b) Most of the women living in low class buildings in lanes are ignorant of music or dancing and the men who visit them do so only to satisfy their lust.

In the evening the harlots may be seen standing in front of their doors or in the verandahs (balcony) above the street A harlot is easily identified by the way in which she powders her face and applies colour to her cheeks and lips, her gay dress and the peculiar stare in her eyes inviting passers by to her. The prostitutes generally smoke cigarettes when waiting or loitering in the street for patrons.

No respectable Indian lady would smoke

a cigarette and a prostitute may easily be recognized from the cigarette in her mouth

Street Walkers—

The street walkers belong to the lowest class of prostitutes and are the most depraved that can be imagined When evening approaches they resort to the streets dressed in their tawdry finery in the expectation of finding some men whom they can induce to accompany them home There are many old and haggard women almost grand mothers and vagrants among them

Most of these women are dirty and diseased and are the most prolific sources of infection Some of them are connected with thieves and serve as decoys for them They do not scruple to rob a client.

The women use liquor very freely the principal customers of these girls are drunken soldiers and sailors poor low class labourers thieves and rowdies

Some of the women watch for village fairs, and exhibitions and other gatherings of crowd and build temporary huts to ply their trade

ARTISTS

Dancing Girls

The dancing girls are generally known as *taicaif* In Bengal they are called *Nayi* or *Taifaicalli*

These women are prostitutes, though some of the *vaiji*s have their so-called husbands who live with them. This device helps them to prevent any attempt at declaration of their residence as brothels

When *Gauhar Jan*, the well known Muhammedan *vaiji*, died two persons claimed her large property as her husbands !

The *vaiji* however leads a more decent life than the bazar prostitutes

The *Kirtanwallis* of Bengal who sing religious songs were at one time in great demand in *Sradh* ceremonies They specialise in religious music and lead a more decent life.

Some of these *kirtanwallis* are known to have given away their huge wealth in charity The name of *Kamini* (popularly known as *Kanch Kamini)* is known to many people for her charities

There was formerly a class of dancers who took it as a family profession All the members of the family—both male and female—took part in exhibition of dancing They were called *Kalawatin* and were found in U P. and Central India even 30 years ago. Their services were in great demand in social gatherings, These women were generally good,

In Mysore such women are called *Kalavati* (artistes) , but most of them are now engaged in prostitution

Actresses—

The theatres have been much used in the service of prostitution The play houses are usually located near brothels.

In the Indian theatres female parts were formerly taken by boys and even to this day males act as females in the old fashioned *jatras* (open air theatres without any scene)

In the modern theatres the female parts are taken by prostitutes as no respectable woman would dream of entering the stage

The dancing girls in these theatres are paid very low wages but the appearance on the stage is an advertisement to them and cunning actresses succeed in securing good clients with the help of the door keepers most of whom act as go-between

Concubines

A concubine is a woman who is completely supported by her paramour and lives with him in the same household Concubinage is an inferior state of marriage

The idea of marriage is not present and the relation may come to an end There is thus married life without a marriage ceremony and based only on sexual desire Economic support

is indirect payment and so these cases of extra-marital liaison should be treated as prostitution.

In Bengal the Hindu society does not tolerate concubinage and no person would dare to keep a concubine in his own house.

This form of illegitimate sexual union is more common in Muhammedan society. A Muhammedan may delight in not more than four wives and as many concubines as he likes or can afford to maintain.

Some of the Indian princes also maintain a large number of concubines in their seraglio. It is strange how a sane person can keep a prostitute in his household and thus run the risk of corruption of his family.

In ultra-modern Bengali magazines articles are frequently published on companionate marriage which is given a halo of romance, It means sexual relationship between a man and a woman without going through the formal marriage ceremony and this connection may be terminated at the wish of either party So this companionate marriage is nothing but concubinage under a new name. This is said to be a popular form of union in Soviet Russia and among the more advanced (!) European young men and women

Concubinage or companionate marriage, by whatever name it may be called, cannot be tolerated by society. Vice like disease is contagious

and women and children of tender age coming in contact with a woman of loose character are liable to corruption. No man or woman can educate children properly unless their precepts are confirmed by example and this vice wherever it is present should be suppressed in the interest of public morality and social welfare

The children who are the fruits of such illicit intercourse have no place in society They have to endure the disgrace attached to their birth and in most cases perpetuate the sin to which they owe their origin

The usual excuse for taking a concubine is the impossibility of marriage A prince cannot marry a woman of low class or of questionable birth and so takes as concubine any such woman for whom he has taken a fancy While a Muhammedan cannot take more than four wives at the same time and so the extra women have to forego the marriage ceremony

A mistress (*bandha khanki*) lives as wife with her paramour so long as he affords to pay her dues Though such relations are usually only temporary cases of life long union are not rare

In most cases however a girl might stay for a few months with a rich Zeminder landholder or Raja then live for a while with a wealthy

merchant and thus change her paramour frequently

A concubine is generally faithful to her paramour ; though some of them give themselves to any man who can pay a fee during the absence of their patrons.

Some of these girls are educated and intelligent women and are well known for their wit and for their brilliancy as conversationalists They read fashionable magazines and literary works in vernacular and are cultured women.

They do not indulge in vulgarities and from outward appearance look like respectable ladies.

A Bengali actress name *Prava* has distinguished herself as a poet and is the author of a book.

Beauty and wit win the favour of the rich and there is great demand for a good looking witty girl with some knowledge of music.

A courtesan's great ambition is to capture the fancy of some Raja, big Zeminder or the son of a selfmade millionaire and to fleece him as much as she can.

Many a noble family has been ruined by courtesans. Some of these women have made spending an art and infatuated rich young men throw all the hard earned money of their ancestors at their feet.

The most notable recent case of infatuation for a harlot is that of the ex-Maharaja of Indore He took fancy for a Muhammedan prostitute named *Mumtaz* and wanted to keep her for his own But *Mumtaz* escaped from him and lived with one *Baiola* As a revenge *Baiola* was murdered. The Maharaja was forced to abdicate his throne as a result of the discoveries that followed *Mumtaz* is now a film actress while the ex-Maharaja is living in France with an American wife whom he married in addition to his Hindu wives

The story of *Mumtaz* as told by the ex Maha raja of Indore to Her Highness the Dayang Muda of Sarawak (People London) will be interesting

As it so often happens both in real life and in books, my troubles began with a woman

Her name was *Mumtaz* and she was a dan cing girl She was sent to the Palace by her father who had been an old servant of mine and who implored me to take charge of his daughter on his death There are hundreds of women in my household and this girl must have been there for some months before I saw her at all Then at one of our feasts she was brought to dance for me

'She was not a particularly beautiful woman indeed I had many more beautiful in the Palace

but she had about her that indefinable something that drives men wild To watch her dance was to watch a poem of movement. I have never seen anyone move so exquisitely and her little feet were made to inspire a sculptor.

"She became my favourite there was nothing on earth I would not have done for her I was deaf to the pleadings of my friends who warned me that this woman would bring disgrace and trouble upon me. I did not realise that she was shallow and worthless at heart

"I showered jewels and presents on her. A ruby I gave her was one of the largest in my country, she had robes of pearls and diamond bracelets. But even then she was not satisfied

She grew tired of the Palace and the restrictions of the life in women's quarters She had heard of the freedom which European women have and determined to attain it somehow After bribing the servants she slipped out one night taking with her such jewels as she could conveniently dispose of

"After a variety of adventures she found a rich Bombay merchant willing to take her to Europe in exchange for her love. But it was not in her nature to be true to him any more than she had been to me and the result was that the merchant was found one day murdered by one of her lovers.

'Because it was known that she had been an inmate of my palace and that she had escaped from there, my enemies spread the report that I had ordered the death of the merchant the report grew until it became a definite charge. I was given the alternative of abdicating in favour of my son or of appearing before the court to prove my innocence. Although I should unquestionably have cleared my name I cho e to abdicate The Maharajah of Indore could not appear before the court like a common felon ! I preferred to give over my country to my son and save our name from dishonour

A permanent concubine can claim maintenance and the recent decision of the Bombay High Court will be interesting

In the Bombay High Court before the Hon Mr Justice Kania an administration suit was filed by a woman named Kesarbai Kashinath against Dayawati claiming maintenance on the ground that she was the permanent concubine (*avarudha stree*) of one Ram Chandra Ranchor das Dalal who died in Bombay on or about August 29 1932 leaving the defendant his widow as his only heir and legal representative

The plaintiff alleged that for a period of over 12 years prior to the death of the said Ram chandra she had been in his continuous and ex clusive keeping as a permanent concubine or

"*avarudha stree*" up to his death and that after his death she had remained faithful to his memory. She was informed that the deceased Ramchandra had left property of the value of about Rs. 5 lakhs The plaintiff stated that the deceased used to pay her Rs. 400 per month for her maintenance and she submitted that as a permanent concubine, she was entitled to have a proper and sufficient provision for her maintenance out of the estate of the deceased.

The defendant, who had been married to the deceased, about four months prior to his death, denied that the plaintiff was the permanent concubine of the deceased or that she had consorted with him alone or that after his death, she had remained faithful to his memory. The defendant alleged that the plaintiff was leading a life of unchastity. The defendant submitted that the plaintiff was not entitled to any maintenance and that in any event Rs 400 per month as demanded by her was extravagant and out of all proportion

His lordship in delivering judgment observed that the principal question in the suit was whether the relations between the plaintiff and the deceased Ramchandra were such as would entitle the plaintiff to claim maintenance out of his estate,

The plaintiff had given evidence in an honest and straightforward manner, which his lordship accepted Besides the oral evidence of the plaintiff

and her witnesses there was documentary evidence in the shape of letters written by the deceased which supported her case Those letters disclosed the exact position and status in which the plaintiff had been held by the deceased who referred to her in numerous letters as his wife.

According to his lordship the oral and documentary evidence established that the plaintiff was in the exclusive keeping of the deceased for 12 years before his death that the connection between them was open and avowed and of a permanent nature that the deceased treated the plaintiff as his wife though not legally married and looked to her for comfort and that since his death the plaintiff had remained faithful to his memory

The question was therefore whether under those circumstances the plaintiff was entitled to maintenance

It was contended among other things on behalf of the defendant that as the plaintiff was not living together with the deceased she was not entitled to any maintenance

After referring to the Hindu texts and cases *decided on the point* his lordship *held that* residence with the deceased in his house was no longer necessary for a maintenance claim It was sufficient if it was proved as in this case that the plaintiff was the permanent concubine of the

deceased and that after his death she had remained chaste and faithful to his memory.

In his lordship's opinion the plaintiff had also succeeded in establishing her position to be that of almost a wife and dependent on the deceased and thus was entitled to maintenance even according to the original Hindu texts

As the parties did not agree as to the value of the property left by the deceased his lordship was unable to fix the amount of maintenance at that stage and referred the matter to the commissioner to ascertain the value of the property and the income derived from it and to state what would be the suitable amount for the plaintiff's maintenance. In the meantime, the plaintiff was to be paid Rs. 150 per month.

The fee of the kept mistresses vary from a few rupess to thousands of rupees per month according to their beauty and other qualifications.

Some of the courtesans amass large fortunes.

Temporary Wives

A large number of Muhammedan prostitutes practise prostitution with men of their own religion These women take advantage of the peculiar system of temporary marriage prevalent among the Shia sect of Muhammedans. Licentious men contract temporary marriages in order to enjoy the company of a woman. Unless they

find a succession of temporary husbands or are able to induce one of them to convert the temporary union into a permanent one, these women have no other choice than to earn their living by prostitution So long as these women are in the keeping of a man they are not classed as prostitutes provided the ceremony of temporary marriage is gone through

Semi Mistresses—

There is another class of prostitutes who are both kept mistresses and street walkers

A man may visit his mistress at an appointed time every night Taking advantage of this the woman entertains any stray visitor outside the *hours of the man in whose keeping she is.* A part time paramour is known among the prostitutes as a *Timer Babu* (paramour for a time)

These women imitate fashionable society girls and it is sometimes difficult to know their true character But in most cases they are known from their love of ornaments and especially nose ring and shoes of golden colour

Clandestine Prostitutes

Females carrying on prostitution in secrecy or as auxilliary to some reputable calling may be classed as clandestine.

The following cases come under clandestine prostitution—

(i) Where both the man and the woman want to conceal their sin. A woman who is regardful of her reputation generally cohabits with her lover for satisfaction of lust and in most cases the question of money does not come in. But there are cases where women posing as virtuous ladies are in the keeping of secret lovers for a consideration of money or other valuables.

Some of the hotels are the meeting places of this class of men and women, and serve as assignation houses Every licensed hotel keeps a register of its customers, but the names written in the books by a man of this character is always fictitious, The woman is passed as his wife, and the man and his supposed wife are assigned a room in the hotel where they enjoy themselves as long as they like The fact that these couples have no baggage and generally use the rooms only during the evening are sufficient to arouse suspicion in the minds of even a casual visitor. But the hotel keeper is not always a party to these illicit union, and cases are not rare in which even respectable hotels have been deceived by couples well dressed and of proper deportment.

(ii) Where a woman keeps up a show of some respectable profession to conceal her real

character Some of these women, singly or in couples rent a room and under the garb of honest labour pass as respectable among those living near them

The difference between the women of the last class and regular prostitutes is only in degree.

The clandestine prostitutes however seem to retain some natural sense of the disgrace attached to public prostitutes and in their secrecy and quiet retain a few feminine characteristics which are absent in the inmates of the brothels

At times of trade depression these women are compelled to have recourse to prostitution as their only refuge from starvation

Domestic servants female cooks *panwallis* laundresses (*dhopani*) needlewomen and *kapar-wallis* (hawkers of clothes) factory girls. shop girls and even some of the nurses and midwives may be included in this class

There are hundreds of such private prostitutes and kept mistresses many of whom keep up a show of industry as domestic servants midwives etc. and it is almost impossible to ascertain their number

The chief attraction of these private prostitutes lie in the trace of modesty that yet lingers in them amid the wreck of character and is absent in the bazar women Modesty adds grace to a woman s charm

(a) *Maid servants*—

In towns most of the maid servants are clandestine prostitutes Many of them work in the day and go to their rooms at night where they live with their paramours or receive visitors. A woman who gets sufficient money from prostitution leaves her work.

(b) *Female Cooks*—

Some of the female cooks are also clandestine prostitutes

(c) *Girl labourers in Mills*—

The sexual morality of the girls who work in the mills are naturally not very strict

In Bengal the female labourers in the jute mills are all up-country women , while in the collieries the women of Santal. Kol and other aboriginal tribes predominate. In the rice mills most of the women labourers are Bengalees. Some of the women have gold ornaments on their persons. Most of them lead a life of vice at night

(d) *The Panwalli*—

Betel is to an Indian what chewing gum is to an American. Though modern young men dislike *pan*, it is still the favourite of the masses Selling *betel* is mainly a woman's job and a *panwalli* or woman betel seller does a

larger trade than her male competitors especially if her appearance is good Her smile attracts not only the petty clerks and *darwans* but also the mighty police constable

These *panwallis* are as ready to sell favours as *pan* and in fact they come from the neighbouring brothels for that express purpose The business is a good method of advertisement for securing paramours

Panwallis are found in the ledges of houses on the main street and in the office quarters In the muffusil law courts the *panwalli* especially if young and goodlooking may be seen surrounded by litigants witnesses *muhurics* (clerks of lawyers) and even lawyers

Some of the *panwallis* are well off and have gold ornaments on their persons

(*e*) *Nurses*—

In India nurses and midwives are generally drawn from the lower strata of society

Women of doubtful character who join this profession cannot be expected to lead a saintly life Most of the nurses have their paramours who are passed off as their husbands and these husbands are not infrequently changed The word Mrs is a cloak behind which wildest debauchery can be performed

It is however a matter of satisfaction that

respectable ladies are recently coming forward to take up this noble profession which was so long in the hands of women of suspicious character

The European girls who work as nurses in India are more respectable But even among them the number of clandestine prostitutes is not negligible and anyone may see in the evening well dressed young Europeans and Anglo Indians waiting in taxis for their favourite nurses in front of the hospitals

The following case is an example Mrs Monna Webber was a nurse supervise rof the Campbell Hospital She lived in the hospital and her paramour visited her there sometimes even at dead of night apparently with her connivance On one occasion the man beat the hospital darwan who did not like his amorous visits and was sent up for trespass and assault. From that time the paramours had to visit the nurse in her private residence But they soon quarrelled and the nurse brought a false case of trespass and abduction against her paramours Redmond Earle, Blake and another man.

It was alleged by Mrs. Webber that on the night of the 7th September 1932 the accused Redmond and two others trespassed into premises No. 87-C, Park Street where Mrs. Webber was residing, and that Redmond and Blake forcibly

carried her downstairs and placed her in a taxi which was waiting on the road near the gate. The third accused was sitting in the taxi by the driver When the taxi proceeded a few yards the complainant raised a hue and cry which drew the attention of a sergeant passing by who took the party to the thana The accused were subsequently charged with trespass indecent assault etc. and put on their trial before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

The complainant Mrs Mona Webber cross-examined stated that she was a married woman and previously lived with her husband at Kurseong In 1927 she left her husband s protection and came away with Redmond Earle and another person to Calcutta Before this she had lived happily with her husband In Calcutta she lived at various places under the protection of Redmond and before actually setting down in Calcutta she went with him on a long motor tour Eventually she secured a job in the Campbell Hospital as a nurse supervisor While residing in Hospital she used to be frequently visited by Redmond. In consequence of this two criminal cases were instituted against him of alleged trespass in which she deposed against him She did not know if Redmond was acquitted or not

Continuing she stated that she did spend

several nights with Redmond at his house in Dent Mission Road, but denied that she went out on the night of the 22nd September with him and stayed in his house or that on the following day he had tea with her in her rooms.

Cross-examined by Mr. D. R. Mookerjee, Mrs McDermott, a prosecution witness, said that she and the complainant, Mrs. Webber, lived in the same room. She did not see the complainant being carried by the accused. Mrs. Webber went out with the accused Redmond on the night of the 21st of September and returned to her flat at 9 A. M the next morning, and the accused and Mrs. Webber had tea in her flat. She remembered having gone out one night with an Indian gentleman and being arrested by a sergeant and taken to the thana and of the gentleman's paying Rs. 100 to the poor box at Lalbazar.

Abdul Mazid, the taxi driver, in his cross-examination, stated that while passing Wellesley and Park Street junction his taxi was hailed by the accused Redmond who was standing with the complainant on the footpath nearby.

The defence was that Redmond Earle went to Mrs Webber by previous appointment and she accompanied them in the taxi without any objection.

Observing that "the whole story was ridiculo-

usly untrue and exaggerated the Chief Presidency Magistrate on 26 5 32 acquitted Redmond Earle J Blake and Ahmed of the charges of trespass and forcibly taking away Mrs Mona Webber

It is perfectly clear the Magistrate further observed that this is a case of a thoroughly vicious young woman as hysterical as she is fickle She has been having differences with her paramour whom she can neither give up completely nor break away As far as I can gather all that happened was that she was going for a drive with the accused and changed her mind taking advantage of the advent of the police sergeant She poses as a damsel in distress her imagination being assisted I do not doubt by lurid cinema dramas. Under these circumstances I find all the accused persons not guilty They are accordingly acquitted

(f) Shop and Telephone Girls—

The greater part of European and Anglo-Indian prostitutes in India practise their trade more or less clandestinely Most of them work in the day as shop or telephone girls and earn additional money by prostituting at night

The *vaijis* or dancing girls are mostly Muhammedans ; while the *kirtanwallis* are Hindus

Among the bazar prostitutes the number of Hindus seem to be greater than that of Muhammedans

One of the reasons is that most of the Muhammedan prostitutes assume Hindu names for fear of losing Hindu clients. The Hindus generally do not visit Muhammedan prostitutes , while a Muhammedan has no such prejudice. As for example *Nrityakali* is a Muhammedan prostitute of Monirampur, though her name is in orthodox Hindu style Her mother *Hemlata* built a grave by the side of Monirampur Road. The wife of a Pathan named Baktarali became a public woman at Bangalipur and assumed the name of *Kusum Kumari*. (1)

Sunita Devi the beautiful Indian model of Jacob Epstein the sculptor bore the name of a high caste Hindu woman She went to England first at the time of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley and was known as a Hindu She is however said to have told Mr and Mrs Epstein

(1) Sanjivani 15-9-32

that she was Mrs Armina Peerbhoy and had separated from her husband. So she was not a Hindu and the Hindu name was apparently used to lend an air of mystery to her person

The European and Anglo Indian girls are all Christians Some of the girls who have Indian customers have been known to take Hindu name with the word *Devi* (which signifies a Brahmin) after it ! They follow the example of the Anglo Indian film girls who adopt Hindu names to make them attractive to Hindu cinema goers

There are also Jewish prostitutes in Bowbazar locality of Calcutta These women do not practise prostitution openly

The Japanese prostitutes follow their own religion

The particulars from the census returns for 1931 given below will be interesting

	Number of prostitutes according to religion	Population
Calcutta—		
Total number	7440	1 196 734
Hindu	6 995	822,293
Muhammedan	302	311 155
Christians	86	47 484
Buddhists	27	3 021
Others— (Jain Parsee Sikh Jew indefinite belief etc.)	30	12 781

	Number of prostitutes according to religion.	Population
Madras city—		
Total number	829	647,288
Hindus	780	
Muhammedans	23	
Christians	26	

In Bombay city the Amended Bombay Prevention of Brothels Act making brothels illegal had been in force and though there are still about 5,000 prostitutes no census figures are available

AGE

A girl between 16 and 25 is in great demand and the owners of brothels always try for such young ones

Of the 829 prostitutes in Madras city in 1931 40 were aged 12 to 16 years 142 were 17 to 20 years 189 21 to 25 years 288 26 to 35 years 160 36 to 50 years and 9 were 50 years and over

Girls of Minor Age—

There are many girls of minor age in the brothels. Most of these girls are daughters of the prostitutes while some of them are either stolen or recruited from their homes

Girls of 12 or 13 have been known to practise prostitution in these brothels It is very difficult to ascertain their correct ages as they are coached by their mothers or *bariwalli* to add from five or six years as necessary to their ages

There is an Act penalising brothel keepers who allow minor girls in their houses But this act is almost a dead letter while the number of homes where such girls can be sent are too few to give shelter to those who are rescued

Minor girls who look older than their age are often taken before a magistrate to make an affidavit that they want to lead the life of a prostitute.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY

CAUSES OF DEMAND

Man demands and woman supplies. So long as the demand is present, there will be no paucity of women to satisfy the lust of men.

The causes of demand for women depend upon—

(1) *The existence of a large surplus of men over women*—

The census returns of India (excluding Burma) for the year 1921 and 1931 were as follows.

1921	
India, total population	318,942,480
Males	163,955,554
Females	154,946,926
Sex ratio	90
1931	
India, total population	352,986,876
Males	181,921,914
Females	171,064,962
Sex ratio	90

This shows a larger number of women than men.

A comparison with other countries may be of some interest.

Country	Proportion of females to 1000 males
India (1931)	940
England and Wales (1931)	1 087
Australia (1931)	967
United States of America (1930)	976
Japan (1930)	990

The proportion of females varies widely *in different provinces of India* In Madras and Behar and Orissa the number of females is high ; while in some of the provinces such as Bengal, Punjab Sind Baluchisthan Delhi etc. there are surplus of men over women.

Province or State	Proportion of females to 1000 males
Madras—States	1 079
Behar & Orissa—British territory	1 048
Cochin	1 043
Behar & Orissa—States	1 033
Madras—British territory	1 025
Central Provinces	996
Travancore	987
Burma	958
Mysore	955
Central India Agency	948
Baroda	942
Bengal—British territory	924

Province or State	Proportion of females to 1000 males
Assam .	909
Bombay ..	909
Rajputana Agency .	908
United Provinces ...	904
Ajmer-Merwara ..	892
Coorg	887
Bengal-States	886
Bengal ...	881
North Western Frontier Provinces	843
Punjab-States	832
Punjab-British territory .	831
[illegible]	778
[illegible]	737

In Bengal there are 587 female dancers, musicians and actresses, and 24 280 female procurers and prostitutes

In Delhi the male population is 369 497 and the female only 266 749 which shows an excess of 102 748 among males According to the census report there are 313 female prostitutes and procurers in Delhi

In Mysore State the male population numbers 3,353, 963 and the female 3,203,339 There are 1 588 female prostitutes and procurers

In Burma the total population was 14 665 618 of whom the number of males and females were

Males	7 489 460
Females	7 176 158

It appears from these figures that there is in the whole population about 95 women to 100 men

The number of prostitutes in Burma is not available

In some of the provinces the prostitutes and procurers have been included with vagrants and beggars and no separate statistics are given Even in those places where the number of female prostitutes and procurers is given it is generally inaccurate The statistics of these women as given in the census have very little value In the Punjab province there are said to be only 1,371 prostitutes and procurers which is absurd

The provinces of Behar and Orissa, as a whole, have a larger proportion of females . but the number of females is low in the cities even in this province.

Patna City—

Total population	159,690
Males	92,238
Females	67,452

Gaya City—

Total population	88,005
Males	50,625
Females	37,380

The Patna City is notorious for its dancing girls and *Vaijis*. In Behar and Orissa, there are 2,475 dancing girls and musicians, while the number of female prostitutes is 2,089, most of whom live in the cities and towns.

The discrepancy between male and female population is marked in all the cities, The census returns of the principal cities in India are interesting.

	1921	1931
Calcutta		
Total population	1,077,264	1,196,734
Males	724.248	814,948
Females	353,013	381,786
Sex ratio	48	46

	1921	1931
Bombay city		
Total population	1 175 914	1 157 851
Males	771 332	745 762
Females	404 582	412 089
Sex ratio	52	55
Madras city		
Total population	526 911	647 288
Males	276 107	341 303
Females	250 804	305,925
Sex ratio	90	90
Karachi		
Total population	216 883	260 639
Males	133 084	153 629
Females	83 799	107 013
Sex ratio	63	70
Rangoon		
Total population		400 415
Males		271 063
Females		129 352
Sex ratio		44

In Calcutta the sex proportion indicates an unhealthy social life 469 females to a thousand males in Calcutta and 550 in Howrah in 1931 This is far below the proportion for the whole of Bengal

The cities do not make it convenient for the worker to have his family with him and this applies also to most of the industrial towns in India

A large number of men migrate from the villages to the cities for business or in search of money and live in the numerous hotels, boarding houses and messes separated from their wives and relatives. The cities are expensive and people cannot afford to live there with their families unless the income is sufficiently high The worker is thus forced to live there to earn money for wife and children far away. The result is a large number of male population living away from the healthy influence of home life. These are the people who are the best customers of the public women.

Forced abstinence does not abolish or moderate the natural sexual appetite Moral principles or fear of divine punishment will restrain it in some ; social in some , the fear of venereal diseases in some ; yet there have been and always will be people who are not restrained by any of these considerations.

It is seriously argued that brothels are a necessity for the sake of these people. But when the women left by these men in their village homes can lead a virtuous life and keep their sexual appetite in check, why should not the men do the same ?

(2) *Temporary Markets of Prostitution*—

Wherever there are temporary assemblies of

large bodies of men the prostitutes are not slow to avail themselves of the opportunities

(*a*) The melas—

The settlement of public women in *melas* has become an acute social problem These *melas* are organised on the occasion of some religious festival or as exhibitions for the encouragement of local industries and agriculture But in most cases the organisers construct temporary huts and let them to public women to make the *mela* or exhibition pay Prostitutes and gambling are two tempting sources of pleasure to the illiterate villagers who are drawn from great distance to these *melas* Such *melas* rarely promote local industry but there is no doubt that they help in seducing many a young man into these temporary brothels and spread the germs of venereal diseases The owners of *melas* which are held annually are generally averse to stop this practice as it is a source of great income to them

(*b*) Temporary centres of amusement like carnivals and theatres in a small district town attract visitors from the neighbouring villages. The girls attached to Indian theatres are all prostitutes These girls with painted faces and gaudily dressed appear as fairies to the simple village youth who rarely gets the oppor-

tunity to see a theatrical performance. During their short stay in the towns, these actresses ply a booming business. The cheap touring theatres with a number of low class harlots are specially a menace to public morality

The large number of carnivals which have recently appeared in Calcutta are nothing but gambling dens with provision for entertainment of a low and lascivious character mostly by women of the clandestine prostitute class Many of these girls go out with visitors after closing hours,

The racing season in the cities also draw a large number of visitors who patronise the brothels

(c) Industrial places employing large bodies of men during certain seasons :

Brothels are found in places where large number of men are employed in conditions of seasonal labour During these seasons the labourers leave their home for these places and are separated from their wives and families. Such labourers earn high wages every week and spend most of the money on wine and women.

During jute season, the centres of this lucrative trade in East Bengal attract many public women

The *'hats'* (temporary bazars) in villages are

visited by many people from far and near and the prostitutes flock to these places on the market days

(*d*) *Movement of Tourists and Pilgrims*—

The regular movement of tourists create a demand for prostitutes and women are brought to these places to meet the demand

Srinagar the capital of Kashmir is a great attraction to the rich tourists who spend money lavishly Kashmir is rightly famous for the beauty of its flowers and women. Like every other country Kashmir has its women of easy virtue, who cater to the pleasures of the tourists

Some of the places of pilgrimage are also notorious for the number of their brothels Some of the men who come for religious motive fall victims to the wiles of these women

Ports are also centres of prostitution In Calcutta there are numerous brothels near the Khiderpur docks and prostitutes of various nationality may be seen standing in the windows and doorways.

Dalals usually meet the incoming steamers and direct the unacquainted to the brothels. It is a common sight to find drunken sailors being led into the rooms of ugly old women of the lowest type. In such cases appearance of the woman does not generally matter and the sailor is contented with satisfying his sexual appetite after a period of forcible abstinence

KIND OF WOMEN PROCURED

The women procured may be broadly classed into—

(1) Girls born of prostitute mothers.

(2) Girls adopted by prostitutes.

(3) Seduced or abducted girls.

(4) The semi-professional and the complacent girls.

(5) Girls who are already prostitutes

(*1*) *Girls Born of Prostitute Mothers*—

The daughter of a prostitute naturally carries on the trade of her mother and prostitution has become a hereditary profession to a class of women A prostitute who has a daughter considers her as an asset and an insurance against old age. The girl is usually brought up to the same profession as her mother and is initiated into prostitution as soon as she attains puberty.

According to the League of Nations Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East, among the many different castes which exist among the Hindus, there are certain castes the female members of which are all prostitutes.

There is however no prostitute caste among the Hindus and the members of the Commission apparently got this information from some one who has no knowledge of Indian society The prostitute is in the eyes of Hindu society an out caste and there is no place in it for the children of a public woman. Some of these women marry their sons and daughters with girls or men of illegitimate birth as no Hindu, however low his social position may be, will knowingly intermarry with persons of questionable parentage. The prostitutes and their offsprings thus form a class unto themselves. They do not observe caste system and the son of a Brahmin woman of this class may marry the daughter of a Sudra prostitute.

There are however certain aboriginal tribes the female members of which are of loose character Among them we may mention the *Hurkias* who are Muhammedans and the *Nat Paturia* and *Radha* who are Hindu tribes of U P The *Tawaifs* of U P are mostly Muhammedans

(2) *Girls Adopted by Prostitutes*—

Brothel keepers and also prostitutes buy infant girls for the purpose of adoption The girls are generally recruited from—

(a) Girls of poor parents who are unable to

maintain themselves are sometimes sold to *dalals* for money

(b) Infant girls born as a result of illicit intercourse are generally got rid of in this way.

The *baiwalli* takes good care of her adopted daughters and gives them training in music and arts There is a good demand for accomplished girls and the money invested in them is almost an insurance against the bad days of old age to a brothel keeper The prostitute who adopts a girl is called mother and not infrequently the girl treats her kindly in her old age through affection There are also cases where a girl is virtually a slave of her mistress.

(3) *Abducted Girls*—

The girls forcibly abducted from their home by ruffians are in most cases not taken back by their relatives, and have thus no other alternative but to enter the brothel. A girl who has through an error of judgment slipped from the path of virtue and finds the way to her return home blocked is also a good victim for a brothel

(4) *The Semi-professional and the Complacent Girls*—

(a) In the large cities like Calcutta some of the maidservants, cooks and other women depend on their occupations for part of their subsistence.

and at the same time have their paramours whom they meet at night. From such a life to a brothel is not a long way Many of the girls came from the country to find employment and then drifted into prostitution.

(b) Cooly Girls in Factory—

The development of commerce and industry caused the establishment of large mills and factories Poor villagers both men and women, flocked to these industrial centres At times the supply of labourers so greatly exceed the demand that wages hover about the amount just sufficient to keep the cooly alive The labourer has to work from early in the morning to evening To such a over-worked low paid and illtreated woman labourer the temptation to enter a brothel is very great. There is much to sleep and practically no work to do while there is prospect of better food and clothing

In most cases the sexual morality of these girls were already not very strict The mill overseers and *sirdars* sometimes through their power to discharge force their female employees to grant them favours. While there are many young men ready to spend money on presents for a few hours enjoyment

(c) Artistes—

In India the actresses in the public theatres are all prostitutes

With the advent of the cinema however a few respectable girls have joined the screen. But still most of the film actresses are prostitutes and the few respectable girls who take part in these plays have to associate with undesirable women. Some of the well known actors are also drunkards and men of bad character The result is as is to be expected and the fall of some of these girls is an object lesson to others.

There is an unhealthy atmosphere in most of the film companies not only in India but also in Europe and America. Some of the Western film stars change their so-called husbands more frequently than even the courtesans their paramours,

Some of the modern half educated girls are wild about the movies. The pictures and articles written in praise of film stars make them long for a job in some film They are the kind that fall easy.

(5) *Village Prostitutes*—

A large number of prostitutes in the cities are however recruited from the prostitutes plying their trade in villages A good looking woman may attract the notice of the agent of some brothel. The life of a village prostitute is not a rosy one. It is therefore easy to offer inducement to her to go to the city. The agent makes

a plausible proposal to take her to the city offering to advance her money for the purpose, which she would pay back from her income

A woman whose fall from virtue occurs in a village or district town also naturally seeks the larger city in which to lead a life of sin

There is also constant migration of women from one town to another in search of better luck. The dancing girls or *vaiṣṇ* of Calcutta are mostly recruited from Benares Lucknow Delhi and other upcountry places

CAUSES OF A WOMAN'S FALL

CAUSES OF A WOMAN'S FALL

The girls who are born in or brought up to the trade of prostitution can have no choice.

The daughter of a prostitute will naturally lead a life of shame and there is nothing to be wondered at it. But what is the cause of so many girls and women leaving their homes to resort to prostitution ?

These cases may be divided into voluntary cases and result of forcible abduction or other circumstances.

Voluntary Cases

(1) Licentiousness of disposition

Rarely women voluntarily resort to prostitution inorder to gratify their sexual passions. Such cases are generally the sequel of bad company which undermines the principle of virtue

An Indian woman is generally shy and is rarely so depraved as to tear the bonds of affection and love for the life of an outcaste merely for sexual passions.

In most cases the beginning is secret liaison with some young man living in the same or

neighbouring house When this love affair is dis covered the woman is sometimes turned out and has no other recourse but to lead a life of shame

(2) SEDUCTION

Two factors play a great part in cases of seduction—misplaced confidence and excessive sexual passion

In some cases poverty the lure of luxury unfavourable social environment and illtreat ment of relations induce a woman to yield to the persuasions of a man

Excessive sexual passion is an indirect cause f drifting of a woman to a life of shame

The force of sexual desire lies dormant in the bosoms of most females until aroused by some outside influences. Acquaintance with the opposite sex particularly if extended so far as to be come a reciprocal affection will tend to excite the slumbering passions

The effect of familiarity on ill regulated minds is more inimical to the moral feeling than is commonly supposed It paves the way for lapse from virtue and leaves but one step to complete the final descent. A woman yields her honour to her lover s importunities or runs away with him only when she had become so attached to him as to blindly idolise him

A case of Seduction by Servant—

M, a Munsiff of Manikganj received an order of transfer to another district. On the morning of the day he was to leave Munshiganj, he found his daughter R and a young servant named Khitish missing.

Information was at once sent to all the steamer and railway stations On enquiry it was learnt that Khitish and a fair boy were found going on a cycle towards the west. They were then traced in a deserted house in a village 15 miles from Munshiganj.

The fair boy turned out to be the girl in disguise.

Khitish admitted his guilt and was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment. (1)

In a case of seduction the woman, though duped, is a willing victim She however sins from weakness and love and is therefore an object of pity.

(3) Temptation

(a) The art of profligate men and their agents makes a woman leave the path of virtue in the hope of pleasure or riches,

(b) Poor widows often leave their village homes in search of employment and live as maid

(1) Sanjibani 21-4 32

servants or cooks in respectable families The mas ter himself or a young man in the family may take a fancy for a girl Promises of a well to-do man are sufficient inducement for a poor village girl to do wrong

These cases of so-called seduction of female servants by employers do not exactly fall under the heading of seduction In a case of seduc- tion a girl s personal attachment and love for the man paves the way for the lapse from virtue while in former cases the inducement is personal gain in future.

(4) Constant association of men and women

The number of women working in registered factores in Bengal in 1931 were 306 536 while in coal mines there were 72 female workers for every 100 males

The employment of males and females under one roof in a shop or factory has a strong ten dency to promote prostitution Constant asso ciation of women with men diminishes that modesty and reserve which are the best protec tive against a seducer Constant contact with demoralized companions in these factories is a potent cause for evil

(5) Ill-assorted Marriages

Indissoluble marriages especially when the bridegroom is old or a man of bad character, encourage prostitution. Married men who find themselves sexually incompatible with their wives have only one way open to them by which they can satisfy their irresistible sexual hunger. In our marriages sexual compatibility is completely ignored. It is only by altering the form of marriage that we can do away with the necessity of prostitution.

Husband too old—

It is not uncommon to find rich old men marrying young girls. In orthodox Indian society it is difficult to get girls above the age of 16 years · so an old man has to be contented with a girl wife fit to be his granddaughter. Such marriages are seldom happy. The old man, by his caresses, stimulates the slumbering sexual passion in the girl, which he cannot satisfy fully. Costly dresses and ornaments and other luxuries are not all that a woman wants. Secret intrigues with some young man is often the result

In a case tried by the Second Police Magistiate of Sealdah, C, a beautiful young girl, stated that she was married to M five or six years ago After marriage she lived in Calcutta for several

years As her husband was too old for her she left him.

(6) Ill-treatment of girls at home

Ill treatment of parents relatives or husbands is one of the most important causes of prostitution

In the course of our investigation we received the following answers

(a) Orphan girls—

My mother was dead and my father was a confirmed drunkard and passed nights in the brothels. He always returned home in a drunken condition and used to beat me mercilessly One day I fled from the house and ultimately found my way into a brothel Here is a specimen of a father s cruelty

The step mother does not generally look upon her step children with love and cases of ill treatment are very common

P My step mother ill treated me. She would always speak ill of me to my father and soon I lost my father s love. He did not say anything to her One day she beat me severely till I bled profusely At the suggestion of a maidser vant of a neighbour I fled with her to Calcutta and came to this brothel

S My parents were dead and I went to

live with my maternal uncle and aunt. They looked upon me as an undesirable burden and illtreated me. I left their house when I could not endure their cruelties any longer. I got shelter in the house of a kindhearted gentleman and lived there for a year. One evening during absence of the other members of the family his son induced me to co-habit with him. We became fond of one another .He then rented a room in a brothel and kept me there The secret was however out and his father got him married When he ceased coming, I cried for a few days and then was forced by the *barwalli* to allow visitors "

(*b*) *The hard lot of widows*—

In a Hindu family the widows generally occupy an honoured place on account of their unselfish service. The joint family system which made it possible is however disintegrating and widows now often find it difficult to get a shelter and food.

Widows left penniless by their deceased husbands are sometimes considered as a burden by their relatives. Cruelties and illtreatment have in a few cases led some of the women to leave their homes with men who promise them a life of comfort and luxury.

C. A beautiful girl said "After the death of

my husband every body in his family ill treated me. I worked from morning till midnight, yet they were not satisfied and abused me. I had not enough to eat and to wear and lived a very miserable life. My father was a drunkard and led a life of debauchery He would not support me. I thought of committing suicide but was afraid to do so I saw the actresses of a visiting theatrical party which came to our village and thought them very happy

One night I left my village alone and came to Calcutta.

In this case ill-treatment was undoubtedly the direct cause but bad example of her father also played an important part on her mind in her decision to join a brothel

The statement given in the League of Nations Report that it was said that many young widows were sold has no truth in it

(c) Ill treatment of husbands is a prolific cause of prostitution in case of married women

F : My husband had a *violent temper* and beat me without rhyme or reason Several times he wanted to kill me His cruelties drove me from our home.

S : My husband was a *drunkard and passed his nights in some brothel* He never cared for me and I had to starve frequently for want

of money. He would give me no clothes to wear. If I remonstrated with him, he drove me out of his house into the street. To get rid of this miserable life, I eloped with a neighbour who falsely promised me love and many things at that time."

In Hindu and Muhammedan society a man can legally take more than one wife. In modern Hindu society this custom is now looked down upon, though cases of this nature are not yet very rare.

A man having more than one wife cannot usually love everyone of them equally and more often his love is bestowed on the younger one. The younger wife generally becomes the real mistress of the household and ill treats her rival co-wife with as much cruelty as she can. The unfortunate woman would contrast her present miserable state with the happiness of former days. In a house where she was the mistress, she is now no better than a slave. She has lost her husband's love and there is no longer any attraction for her home.

G. "My husband *married again*. He and my co-wife practised all sorts of cruelties until I could endure them no longer."

S: "My husband married again and deserted me to live with his new wife. My parents were

dead I went to my brother s house but his wife used me ill. One day I had a quarrel with my sister in law and my brother drove me from home

(7) *Destitution—*

Want and starvation sometimes force a woman to a life of prostitution Prostitution is the last resort in despair of women who find themselves thrown on the streets with no other means of *fighting destitution. She is tempted to preserve* her life by the sacrifice of her honour and virtue

A woman deserted by her husband or her relatives is an easy victim to the temptations of vice.

A widow left destitute by her deceased husband is also sometimes led to a life of shame Among the Hindus of the higher castes a destitute widow usually gets a shelter under the roof of her relatives The widows of the lower castes are however not generally helped by their relatives and migrate from their village homes to the city to earn their livelihood as maidservants Here they come in contact with maidservants leading a life of sin at night. The woman may remain virtuous for sometime but in most cases the fall is only a question of time

(8) Connivance Of Relatives

Mother's Connivance

The revolting cases are those where a mother forces her daughter to lead a life of shame, but fortunately these cases are extremely rare

A mother, who is herself a woman of easy virtue, will possibly, have no shame in inducing her daughter to such a vicious course of life. A woman who has left her home and joined a brothel sometimes seduces her daughters born in wedlock and causes their ruin

The daughter of a prostitute almost always carries on the trade of her mother. Her mother, when old, lives on the proceeds of her child's shame

In an interesting case before Mr. H. N. Dutt, Police Magistrate of Sealdah, (September 22, 1932), a young Christian girl named Miss Mary Johnson made serious allegations against her mother.

The girl stated that she was a Christian virgin aged 19 years and had been all along living with her mother Mrs A R Johnson. That since about two years her mother Mrs Johnson, who was a widow had been in the keeping of a Muhammedan named Abdul Gany aged 45 years. She was inducing her and forcing her to keep

company with some Muhammedan young men who were of questionable character On her refusal her mother on some occasions pushed her inside a room keeping some young Muham medans there and locked up the door and they tried to take indecent liberties with her This conduct of her mother had reached a stage beyond all patient human endurance inas much as Abdul Gany her mother s paramour intended to marry her and her mother was aiding and abetting him which was most hateful and detestable in the eyes of God man nature and society Having attained majority she had selected a young Christian gentleman holding a good occupation to marry her in church With that view she had left her mother s house of her own free will and accord Since 3 or 4 days her mother with some Muhammedan *goondas* had been surrounding the house where she was staying and threatening her future husband with violence and some breach of peace was likely to be committed by them She prayed for police protection

The Magistrate directed the police to warn the party

Husband s Connivance—

M daughter of a maidservant She was married at the age of 12 with a motor mechanic and lived with her in the house of her master

Two years after marriage the husband took the girl from her mother and kept her in a room in a hut in Calcutta. After a few days he brought a visitor in her room and locked the door from outside. The man violated her chastity. From that day she had to entertain visitors. Her husband lives on her earnings and practically does no work. The mother tried to rescue her, but was threatened with violence by her son-in-law.

Cases of connivance of husband are not rare among low class people. In most of these cases the husband is not only the primary agent in leading his wife to a life of prostitution, but also participates in the wages of her shame.

(9) Accidental Cases

Sometimes a woman is forced by circumstances to take to prostitution.

J "I became pregnant while un-married and my parents sent me to Calcutta with a distant cousin. He took me to the Eden Hospital of Calcutta The doctor refused to admit me as I was only seven months pregnant. When I came out, I found that my cousin had left the place. I searched for him and waited at the gate for a day and night. Then the truth dawned on me that I had been deserted. A prostitute, who came there for treatment, took me to her house and since then I am living in this brothel."

This story is inhuman It is strange that a father can be so cruel as to leave his daughter in such a way

A woman abducted and ravished by force is sometimes not taken by her husbands and relatives She is thus forced to join the ranks of prostitutes

C One night when I was asleep with my husband and our little child a gang of Muham medans broke open into the hut. My husband fled through a window at the back of the house The ruffians gagged my mouth and tied my hands and feet and carried me away to a house in a neigh bouring village. They forcibly raped me till I bled profusely and became unconscious On the fourth night I managed to escape from the house while they were absent and reached my home But my husband refused to give me shelter in his house I fell at his feet and entreated but all in vain So I had to leave the village for Calcutta where I wanted to work as a maidservant On the way a young man helped me with money and treated me kindly He promised to give me shelter in his house and brought me here. I did not know what kind of a place it was I was then forced to sin against my will '

(10) INFLUENCE OF LABOUR CONDITIONS

Bad housing Conditions—

Large number of country people migrating to

the big cities to find work in the factories are often obliged to live under conditions which are apt to increase prostitution.

The *bustees* where they live are congested and are breeding places not only of disease, but also of immorality and crime and are a disgrace to the country.

These *bustees* are inhabited by the labourers, the servants, the cooks, the *dhobis*, the *chamars*, the *methars* and other workers who are too poor to pay for better lodgings.

In Calcutta some of the large buildings are inhabited by these people. The houses are often large and roomy and of substantial structure; but the rooms where the labourers live are overcrowded and often shared by more than one family!

The income of a poor labourer is barely enough for existence and it is not possible for him to pay the exorbitant rents demanded for decent rooms sufficient to accommodate the family. The result is overcrowding, misery and inconvenience and the way in which these labourers live with their families is not conducive to decency and morality. Father and mother sleep in the same room and generally in the same bed with grown up children. As a result of this the children learn everything about sexual relations

from their very childhood and it is frequent to hear precocious licentiousness of conversation even among the young children

In some cases a room is shared between two families and an ingenious attempt is made at decency by putting a *purdah* (screen) between the two portions. Promiscuous crowding of young men and women boys and girls in the same room prepare the way to vice and tend to break down the barriers between the sexes.

The people living in these *bustees* do not feel ashamed to talk about sexual matter even before children and obscenity is their staple conversation It is frequent to find large crowds of men women and children looking at dogs or cows copulating in the open street near their *bustee* The parents of these children do not seem to see anything objectionable in it !

The children living in such bad social conditions and harmful moral influence are apt to be corrupted They imitate the bad examples of their parents and lodgers living in their *bustee*

Often both men and women are engaged in work and the children are left in the street to take care of themselves These boys and girls born and raised in filthiness of body and mind fall into evil doing

Such promiscuous and indecent mode of living

among the low class people is an indirect cause of prostitution These *bustees* are recruiting grounds of brothels

In India, as everywhere else, many bright examples of chastity are found in the *bustees* or slums in the cities in the midst of extreme poverty, but the environment is bad and in the interest of the rising generation the *bustees* should be made habitable for these poor people.

Low Wages of Women Labourers—

The women labourers cannot work hard as the men and receive generally only half the daily wages of the male The wages paid to a female labourer is generally insufficient for her maintenance and such women often drift into prostitution

Anglo-Indian and European shop girls and clerks also supplement their poor salary by practising clandestine prostitution at night

Surplus of Men among the Labouring classes—

The surplus of men among the working classes is a potential cause of evil

The conditions prevailing among Indian workers in Burma may be taken as an example,

According to the Factory Inspector, practically all industrial work in Burma, except the work in some match factories in Rangoon, is done

by Indian workers Large groups of Indians come to Burma also for the rice harvest. The latter return comparatively soon to India while the industrial workers remain for longer periods or settle down definitely in Burma Most Indian immigrants to Burma come from the Madras Presidency On their arrival in Rangoon all immigrants are looked after by the Protector of Immigrants

'As the women of certain Indian communities, according to old traditions may not cross the sea without running the risk of being excommunicated on their return to India, most Indian workers come without women folk. During the years 1926 to 1930 there were only 8 to 9 women to 100 men among the Indian immigrants to Burma

It is therefore common arrangement among Indian Telegu workers to work and live together in groups of fifteen to twenty men and have a Telegu female housekeeper who was a common mistress to the gang

Many of these Telegu women had come to Burma to find work or suitable husbands but circumstances led them astray They are not he said anxious to make money by prostitution All they want is to get a living and that living it is not possible for one labourer to provide for a woman because what he earns is hardly

sufficient for himself and the maintenance of his family in India". (1)

"Indian workers living with or sharing a mistress were said to patronise the sly brothel with Burmese or (in some few cases) Indian inmates." (2)

(II) Bad Social Conditions

The Deva Dasi

A *devadasi* is a girl whose life is dedicated to the service of God The word *devadasi* means the servant of God

The Ideal behind it—

The *devadasis* as servants of the temple were originally an order of female ascetics leading a life of personal purity and virgin chastity They may be compared with the nuns of a Christian Church who led the life of celibacy.

The dedication of unmarried girls to deities is a Tamilian custom Parents thought it to be an act of merit to dedicate their daughters to deities and the *devadasi* was an object of respect.

The *devadasis* were given sufficient education and many of them were well versed in philosophy and religion Music has a high place in Hindu and Christian religions ; the *mantras* of the

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1, 2 League of Nations Report

Hindus have music in them while the choir is an important part of Christian prayer service in the church The *devadasi* not only learnt the *Shastras* (religious works) but also music

Mode of Dedication—

A girl dedicated to the temple becomes the bride of the deity On the day of completion of her twelfth year she is purified by a bath in holy water and is given a new cloth There is then a ceremony of marriage with the deity after which she becomes a *devadasi*

In Travancore a dagger was placed beside the girl and she was wedded to it

Degeneration of the System—

In course of time the *devadasi* lost sight of her noble ideal and degenerated into a class of women of loose character

The temples were under the control of male priests who often lived there Every priest was not a saint and girls who were forced to play a role of celibacy were not always unwilling victims of the lust of the masters of the temples The same thing happened in the Christian Church in Europe in the middle ages and most of the con vents became centres of licentiousness Dante

in his Inferno, compares the court of the Pope to Babylon and declares it a place deprived of virtue and shame While according to Machiavelli "If the papal court were removed to Switzerland,the simplest and most religious people of Europe would, in an incredibly short time, have become utterly depraved by the vicious example of the Italian priesthood (Discorsi i 12).

The modern *devadasi*, a relic of the past, has become corrupt and the society rightly treats her as a prostitute. Her name *devadasi* or servant of God is now a misnomer. In the *Mahanirvana Tantra* a comparatively recent Sanskrit work she was called *'deva vaishya' (divine prostitute)* and she is nothing but an ordinary public woman.

A South Indian Custom—

The peculiar system of temple girls is found only in Southern India where the people are of Dravidian origin When these people adopted the religion of the Aryans, they probably incorporated the old custom

The priest of a South Indian temple is often richer than many princes Some of the temples with their enclosures, court beyond court, make a domain larger than small towns, Girls with lissome figures with waving arms and draperies

and with disquieting glances are a feature of these temples

The people of Madras have awakened to this evil and the Devadasi Bill was passed in March 1930 The *devadasi* will soon become a thing of history

THE TRAFFICKERS

THE TRAFFICKERS

There is an interprovincial traffic in women for purposes of prostitution. In these cases the movements of the women are controlled by third parties for the sake of the profits which are at the bottom of the business.

The traffickers include—

(1) *Barwalli* (female brothel keeper), who manages the house of prostitution.

(2) Agents, who actually secure the girls and control their movements.

(3) Principals, who lend money to the *barwallis* and agents

There is rarely any regular organisation for traffic in girls and each for himself is the guiding principle in most cases. The *barwallis*, agents and principals join hands when it suits them to do so

In order to maintain the attraction of her brothel, a *barwalli* requires new recruits of young and beautiful girls. Some of her licentious rich clients may finance a project where the victim is beautiful Sometimes there is a professional financier , but in most cases the *barwalli* pays the agents a handsome remuneration for securing girls for her brothel The traffickers meet and exchange information in these brothels which serve as centres of these organisations.

THE BARIWALLI

The word *bariwalli* literally a female house owner has come to mean a female brothel keeper. She is the counterpart of the *madames* of the brothels in Europe.

The *bariwalli* is also a prostitute, and in most cases she is a retired courtesan with some money

The *bariwalli* takes lease of a house and sublets the rooms to prostitutes at a higher rate The rental of a brothel house is usually double the ordinary charge for a similar building as the landlord has to run certain risks in renting his house for a brothel He cannot sue for his rent in the law courts against a prostitute So the *bariwalli* has to pay higher rents and she on her part realises exorbitant rents from her subtennants

Mistresses of wealthy men can afford to rent separate rooms for themselves and pay the rent regularly

In the case of a common prostitute the relation between the *bariwalli* and herself is in most cases at least in Calcutta that of a landlady and her tennant and there is no other obligation The girls rent rooms from the *bariwalli* who is the lessee of the house

But some of the *bariwallis* are not only landladies but also the capitalists of the trade. They buy minor girls and also finance young women to give them a start in their life of shame. The income from prostitution is uncertain and there are days when she may not secure any visitor; while days of illness mean loss of income. The *bariwalli* gives a furnished room and food to her in exchange of a share of her income. The girl receives what money she can get from her visitors and hands over her earnings to the *bariwalli* who at once deducts her dues. The *bariwalli* keeps her on condition that the girl pays at least half of her earnings.

When a prostitute is ill, the *bariwalli* makes arrangement for her treatment and looks after her. The girls often address their *bariwalli* as mother, but her affection for them remains so long as they have sufficient beauty to attract men.

A girl can get advances of money from her *bariwalli* in times of need or illness, though she has to pay her back with interest when she is once more able to earn. Her clothes and jewellery are kept as security.

Some of the *bariwallis* are very avaricious and exploit the girls without mercy. Exorbitant charges are made for board, lodging and clothing, with the result that she is head and ears in debt

which she can never pay This is one of the methods by which these brothel keepers gain authority over the girls and keep them as their obedient slaves If they become dissatisfied with their treatment and wish to leave they are held for the debt.

Sometimes an unscrupulous *barriwalli* plays a trick on the girl A newly recruited girl cannot afford to furnish a room and buy good clothes and unless she has someone to invest the money she cannot start up When a new girl is recruited the *barriwalli* lends her the use of a furnished room and also purchases clothes for her All she has to do is to sign a blank legal paper having a stamp printed on it The *barriwalli* keeps it and nothing is written on it unless the unfortunate girl refuses to obey If she tries to escape then anything can be written on the blank paper and a money suit filed against her

Fancy Men

Some of the brothel keepers live with their husbands who are in most cases sons of prostitutes.

A *barricalli* may have a well to-do lover who sets her up in business furnishes her with funds when necessary and helps her in all her difficulties. Such men are known in Europe as spooneys

Most of the *baricallis* are passionately

attached to some persons upon whom they lavish all their tenderness and for whose gratification incur any amount of expense These lovers of the prostitutes are known as 'fancy men'. They spend the day outside and return to their mistress at night after the casual visitors had left They are frequently felons and rowdies of the lowest class, and do nothing for their mistresses except living at their expense ! These men are however sometimes of help to the *bariwallis* in case of quarrels between the inmates and rowdy visitors.

THE FINANCIERS OR PRINCIPALS

(*Malzada*)

Licentious zeminders and rich men employ men and women of bad character to seduce and secure good looking girls for them They are amateur financers. But the girls so seduced or violated ultimately reach the brothels as society will not in most cases have anything to do with them

There are also professional financiers who supply the money for recruiting nice girls from far and near They are generally retired *dalals* who have amassed sufficient money to finance the business

The principals keep in close touch with procurers in every province. They advance money to the *dalals* and advise them whenever necessary

The principal makes money out of the high interest on the money advanced and also gets a good share in the profits He is careful to avoid incriminating letters or evidence which might get him into the clutches of the law

DALALS

(Procurers or Agents)

The procurers or agents are known in India as *dalals*. They secure new girls, and sell them to the brothels

The professional agents visit village fairs and small towns for securing good-looking girls. The regular village prostitute, whose earnings are not sufficient to maintain her, is the type of women who are generally recruited for the brothels in the city.

These men keep information of girls who have been led astray and find the doors of their home closed to them. Such girls are easy recruits.

New girls are first offered to private sale, and when the first gloss is worn off they are cast on the public market.

These *dalals* are men of bad character. Some of them carry on the work of smuggling of wine and cocaine. Not often a *dalal* lives on the earnings of a girl.

As in every other business, there are middle men in the business of traffic in women. These men and women bring *dalals* and *barwallis* in touch with likely girls and arrange to send the girls to the brothels.

Scouts in Brothel areas

The women of ill fame depend for their customers on petty *dalals* atleast to some extent. The remuneration for these men is usually one fourth the fee realised by the prostitute

In the prostitute locality of a town there are men who accost likely customers and take them to brothels. These men act on commission basis. Some of them act as a kind of servant to the prostitute sometimes exploiting her They live on the earnings of prostitutes and the number of pimps is not small Taxi and ghary drivers and rickshaw pullers often act as pimps for clandestine prostitutes Japanese prostitutes of Calcutta however have no pimps

The case given below will show how the pimps secure and bring customers to the prostitutes.

A Christian youth named Mathews Ricks figured in a Social Vice case which was heard before Mr D N D Khandalawalla Presidency Magistrate, Third Court Bombay He was charg ed with soliciting at a public place under Section 3 of the Prostitution Act

The accused was alleged to have met Sub Inspector De Costa of the Vigilance Branch and a Parsi gentleman at Apollo Bunder

and offered to introduce them to "young and beautiful girls"

The Police Prosecutor opening the case, stated that on the night of October 12, 1932, Sub-Inspector De Costa accompanied by two other officers of the Vigilance branch and a Parsi gentleman were walking along the pavement at Apollo Bunder. Sub-Inspector De Costa with his Parsi friend was ahead, while Deputy-Inspector Salaskar and Sub-Inspector Chavan followed them a few paces behind.

The accused approached Mr. De Costa and asked him if "he would like to have a nice girl" Mr De Costa agreed to be introduced to girls, provided they were "young and beautiful." The accused agreed to fetch a girl as desired. The bargain was struck and the accused stated that the girl would cost Rs 25 while he (accused) was to be compensated for his "trouble" with Rs 5

The party hailed a taxi and Mr De Costa, his Parsi friend and the accused drove to Colaba and stopped in front of Ruby Terrace. The accused took Mr. De Costa and his friend to a room on the second floor. He saw one Mrs. Yates, a European woman and asked her if Miss Yates was in Mrs. Yates replied that her daughter was "engaged" and the party left the building.

The accused then took Mr De Costa to another room in Khatau Mansion Old Custom House Road One Mrs. Evans came to the door and the accused inquired if her daughter was in. She replied that her daughter was away The accused was disappointed and they left the place The accused was paid Rs 2 for his trouble and an appointment was made for the next day

On Wednesday night the accused drove Mr De Costa again to the room of Mrs Yates at Ruby Terrace The accused was told that Miss Yates was not to be had that day

The accused then took Mr De Costa and his Parsi friend to the flat of one Mrs. Suzanne Johnson in Ropewalk Lane. The accused had a talk with Mrs Johnson regarding the charges and it was settled at Rs 30 The accused with Mr De Costa and his friend then entered the flat but in the meanwhile Mrs Johnson noticed Deputy Inspector Salaskar outside. She immediately changed her mind and asked the accused to go away The accused was arrested by Mr Salaskar while leaving the flat

Deputy Inspector Salaskar and Sub-Inspector De Costa then gave evidence corroborating the prosecution story

Mrs Johnson stated that on the night of October 13 the accused knocked at the door and

three persons entered her room. The accused asked her if a girl was staying there and witness replied that she could not "receive" them as she was expecting some friends The accused then left her room.

Miss Margaret Evans residing on the second floor of Khatau Manson also gave evidence.

A Parsi, whose name is withheld by orders of the Court then gave evidence. He stated that he was going with Mr. De Costa on the evening of October 12 when accused met him and offered to introduce him to girls

The Panwallas—

The *panwalla* is a male betel-seller and also does a lucrative trade especially if his little shop is situated near brothels He not only sells *pan* but also soda water, which is a necessity for the drunkards and also sometimes wine and cocaine secretly The *panwalla* of a brothel district acts also as a *dalal* of the girls in the neighbouring brothels.

Guides—

Some of the guides also act as *dalals* of prostitutes. These men not only act as guides to the city, but also to the prostitutes. On the pretext of showing the vice districts, they conduct foreign visitors to brothels

Ticket Collectors Of Theatres—

The gate keepers and ticket collectors of theatres generally act as *dalals* of the actresses and dancing girls In the Indian theatres all the dancing girls are prostitutes and they ply a lucrative trade with the help of these dalals.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

PROFESSIONAL TRAFFIC IN GIRLS

The traffic in women is a flourishing and lucrative trade, and the men and women who carry on this trade flourish on the miseries of their unfortunate victims.

Some of these girls are women of loose character who leave their home in search of pleasures and easy going life. Such women easily fall into the trap of the wily traffickers.

Offers of Employment

A prospect of a good situation and honest and remunerative employment in the city is sometimes held out before the victim. Poor women, especially widows, who have none to support them or are ill-treated by their relatives, think it a god-send. They gladly accept the offer to take them to the town and atlast find themselves prisoner in some brothels. In time they become reconciled to their fate and become prostitute.

Many Telegu women were brought to Rangoon under false pretences by men who promised to find them work or husbands.

Kidnapping of Little Girls

One of the methods of procuring girls for brothels is theft of little girls by Bedias (a

gypsy tribe) beggars and sometimes by servants. These minor girls are sold to keepers of brothels who bring them up for the purpose of carrying on the trade. At time of fairs (*melas*) when there is a large concourse of men and women, cases of strange disappearance of girls are not rare These *melas* are a good opportunity for the men and women engaged in the traffic and even women who have lost their companions easily fall a prey to the wiles of these rogues and are decoyed to some brothel in a town

MARRIAGE METHOD

Marriage is one of the methods by which girls are recruited for the brothels by *dalals*. Reliance should not be placed on unknown match makers.

Such cases are fortunately extremely rare in Hindu society owing to the fact that marriages are contracted only amongst certain clans within a caste and there is very little opportunity for any such fraud.

In the case of Muhammedan girls however there is no such restrictions to marriage and inter-provincial marriages are also not rare. In Christian Society the same man cannot marry more than one girl A Muhammedan however may take four wives and divorce his wife at his own sweet will. Under the circumstances a trafficker often finds it easier to secure a girl through the formality of marriage,

This expedient is especially adopted by the traffickers for securing girls whose parents are in poor circumstances. The *dalal* poses as a well-to-do man and offers marriage. Frequently he is helped in finding the girl and in carrying out his plan by a marriage broker. The poor father takes it as god-send and the marriage is celebrated witout delay

Not often the father gets some money and presents from the bridegroom. The man then takes her to his alleged home in a distant city The unfortunate girl finds her in a brothel At first she revolts but when she finds that it is impossible to get back, she has no other alternative but to submit to her fate.

Many Telegu women were sent to Rangoon under false pretences by men who promised to find them work or husbands On her arrival in Rangoon a woman would be sold to a labourer as his wife, but after some time she would be required to live with a gang of men In the middle of 1930 the case of half-a dozen Telegu women brought over in this way had come to the notice of the Police who repatriated them and took action against the men •

• League of Nations Enquiry Report.

Marriage Fraud

The guardians should be careful in selecting bridegrooms for their daughters The professional matchmakers are not always honest people and make false statements for the sake of commission.

The guardians of marriagable girls are sometimes duped and induced to give in marriage their daughters along with handsome dowry to persons of false identity.

Recently there was a case of this nature in Calcutta. In this tragic drama two young men named Panchu and Haricharan played the parts of bridegrooms, while Binodini Ghatki played the part of a professional match-maker,

The 'modus operandi' of this gang was that one of them Panchu posed as a young bachelor of culture and education, an M. A. of the Calcutta University and a Member of the State Medical Faculty, seeking matrimonial alliance, while others acted as the guardians of the bridegroom. In this way Panchu married Bimala daughter of a Rai Bahadur, and got a dowry of Rs. 5,200.

Next he married a girl named Kamala aged about 15 years, a daughter of a clerk in the

Hooghly Collectorate. Haricharan was not slow to follow his example and married one Monorama aged about 16 a daughter of a Railway clerk of the B N Ry

These frauds came to light in the following manner When the first unfortunate victim Bimala was sent back to her father s house after the marriage without her ornaments the suspicion of her relatives was deeply aroused and they began to make enquiries only to find that Bimala s husband had contracted another marriage in the meantime

The police was informed and after a vigorous investigation, the whole gang was arrested and placed on their trial to answer the above charges. The accused pleaded not guilty Sushila s defence was that she was a Purdanashin lady and had not taken any part in the marriage appellants Nalini and Haricharan who are father and son pleaded bonafides The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta who tried them found all of them guilty and sentenced Haricharan and Panchu to 1 year s R. I., Sushila Devi to 2 years R. I and Nalini Chatterjee and Binodini Ghatki to 6 months R I

As the case is an interesting one we shall describe it in detail Sushil Banerjee is an inhabitant of village Gorai in Baruipur Thana of 24

Perganas, and lived at 32 Beniatola Lane in Calcutta with his mother and sisters.

(a) Marriage with Bimala—

Bimala is the daughter of a retired Government servant. She came to Calcutta with her brother Ajit Kumar Mukherji and stopped at the house of their maternal uncle at Ramkanta Mistri's Lane Calcutta.

One day Binodini, the match-maker, came to their house and said that she knew of a suitable bridegroom for Bimala.

She described Sushil as an M. A. and the Headmaster of St. Mary's School. The brother and the father of the girl went to the house of Sushil. Sushil told them that he was the son of Rai Bahadur Bhagavati Charan Banerjee, who was a professor of the Patna College. He himself was an M. A. and appeared at the Bengal Civil Service Examination. When asked to show the University certificate he replied that it was torn into three pieces for submission to the Government at the time of the B. C. S. Examination.

Sushilabala the mother of Sushil told them that her son was at the Ramkrishna Mission and did not want to marry. Now that he was willing to marry, she wanted to expedite it lest he again changed his mind.

Sushil s uncle Nalini Mohon Chatterjee who lived at Naihati confirmed the statements of Sushil So the father of the poor girl came to be lieve them and Bimala was duly married with Sushil (in the month of Sravana 1337 B S) A dowry of Rs 5 000 (out of which Rs 2,500 was in cash) was paid to Sushil by the bride s father

About 3 or 4 months after the marriage when Bimala returned to her father s place with her husband she was without her jewellery

The cheating was discovered about 8 months after the marriage and the unfortunate father died of a broken heart.

Ajit the brother of the girl gave information to the police and the whole gang consisting of Sushil his mother sister and uncle and the wicked matchmaker were arrested on 26-4 32 in a house at 43/2 Harrison Road On search forged certificates of M A and M M F were found in the suit case of Sushil

Before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta Bimala identified Sushil his mother Sushilabala and sister Prativa She stated that Sushil told her that there were thieves in the neighbourhood of the house and so ornaments should be kept concealed He then took away her ornaments

She further stated that she heard that Prativa was married twice.

(*b*) Marriage with Kamala—

Dasharthi Ganguly, father of Kamala another wife of Sushil, stated that he was a clerk in the office of the Magistrate's court at Hughly. Kamala was his daughter and her age was 14 years. Binodini the match-maker introduced him to Sushil. Sushil told him that he was the son of Rai Bahadur Bhagavati Charan Banerjee of Patna College and that he was an M A. and rector of some school. Marriage of his daughter was then settled with Sushil. At the end of Magh in the year 1337 B. S. Kamala was married with Sushil in a house at Fordyce Lane, He gave Rs. 450 in cash and gold ornaments weighing 16 tolas.

But Sushil did not take Kamala to his house after the marriage He told him that one of his brothers was mad and so it was not safe to keep Kamala in the same house. He believed his statement and did not suspect any cheating. He learnt everything from the Inspector of police when he went to his place.

Kamala, the girl, stated that she lived with Sushil at Fordyce Lane for not more than eight days.

The accused were sent to jail, but there was

nothing to compensate the miseries of their victims The whole lives of these unfortunate innocent girls have been ruined through no fault of theirs The Hindu society will not tolerate their re-marriage and they will have to remain as dependants of their relatives The parents and guardians are to blame in cases of this nature. This case should serve as a warning to parents. Fortunately cases of this nature are practically unheard of in Hindu society as marriage is only arranged within certain limited families in a caste

BOGUS WIDOWS' HOME

In recent years several bogus widows' homes have been started on the plea of serving the unfortunate victims of abduction or rape, but apparently for sale of these girls.

The story of two such bogus widows' homes maintained at Lahore in the Punjab and at Damoh in the Central Provinces, ostensibly to serve as rescue homes for helpless and forlorn widows but really used as centres of traffic in girls was narrated in the Allahabad High Court before Mr. Justice Banerjee on 28th April 1932 in connection with the hearing of an appeal.

The principal actor in this drama was one Dhan Singh Thakur, who styled himself the manager of the widows' *ashram* at Damoh, It was only a cloak under which he carried on the traffic in girls with the active connivance of his wife, Raja Beti, (aged 32) and of a servant girl named Khemia Thakur (aged 22). All of them were arrested by the railway police at Muttra junction as they were taking four young girls to the Punjab. Two of the girls Ramia (16) and Mangia (16) were married, while Hira Bai (22) and Har Bai (18) were widows. Dhan Singh at the time of his arrest had ticket for Delhi, which was on the way to Lahore

The case for the prosecution was that Dhan

Singh was taking the four girls to the Lahore Ashram which was his head office Har Prasad the manager of the Lahore Ashram was the chief assistant of Dhan Singh in this business

The sessions judge of Muttra who tried the accused sentenced Dhan Singh and his wife Raja Beti to five years and one year s rigorous imprisonment respectively Khemia the servant girl was acquitted

An appeal was filed in the High Court from this conviction and sentence Dismissing the appeal Mr Justice Banerjee said that the appellants kept a bogus institution at Damoh called the widows home and the evidence proved beyond all doubt that this bogus widows home was a branch of another bogus institution at Lahore run by Har Prasad defence witness These institutions in the name of widows homes were really meant as places from which they could carry on an illegal trade for the sale of women in the Punjab

This trade was not confined to widows alone Any woman married unmarried or widowed whom they could get hold of was disposed of in consideration for money

The correspondence seized from the house of the appellants showed that there was nothing really bona fide about their widows home With

its help they could pretend to be philanthropists and get hold of women either by fair means or foul for the purpose of selling them.

They further pretended that the persons who married these women gave presents to the widows' home.

"It seems to me that it is high time" Mr. Justice Banerjee remarked "that the trade indulged in by Har Prasad and Dhan Singh should be put down with a strong hand and I agree with the sessions judge that this case proves a lamentable state of affairs as to the alleged widows' home run by Har Prasad and the accused."

Bengalee girls, fallen from the path of virtue, are sometimes lured in the same way to Sind and the Punjab. The unfortunate girls who go to distant alien lands in the hope of a happy married life find themselves as slaves of passion of some rich man.

Occasionally however real marriages are performed and the girl becomes the lawful wife of a Sindhi or a Punjabi, who are not averse to marry such girls as it is very difficult and costly for them to get a girl of their own tribe on account of the very small proportion of women. But in most cases the marriage is a sham and the unfortunate girls are sold again and frequently change hands.

LURING WOMEN ON FALSE PLEA

Simple village girls are sometimes lured on false pretences. Once a girl leaves her home, she is not generally taken back to society and has no other alternative but to live a life of shame This is one of the ways in which prostitution gains its victims

Girls lost during fairs etc —

During religious fairs many a village girl is lost and misled into brothels

B a young widow came to Calcutta on a pilgrimage to Kalighat She lost her companions in the crowd and was weeping on the ledge of a house when an elderly woman promised to help her to find out her relatives She was taken to her house which was a brothel and kept confined in a room But the ready wit of the woman saved her from the life of shame She feigned to agree to lead the life of a prostitute at the instigation of the *barwalli* (madame) resulting in relaxation of watch Taking advantage of this she escaped from the house and ultimately reached home with the help of some gentlemen

Plea of taking to father s place

In most cases married women are decoyed on the plea of taking them to their father s place by some person having intimacy with the family

After her marriage a girl goes to live with her husband and rarely gets an opportunity to visit her parents. When the husband and his family are considerate to her, she is contented to live there But sometimes the mother-in-law or the husband is very cruel and illtreats her. In such cases the unfortunate girl longs to return to her loving parents.

Not often a designing woman of bad character or some licentious neighbour takes the opportunity to win over the confidence of an illtreated married girl She is promised to be taken to her parent's place and one night leaves her home in the company of her new friend

When she realises her mistake, it is already too late Even if she is recovered, neither her parents nor her husband will have anything to do with her.

A pathetic story of how a Bengali married girl had to leave her husband's place due to ill-treatment, but became a prey in the hands of a ruffian, on the way to her father's place, was related by a woman named Malina Dasi (15), before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

Malina Dasi, examined by the Chief Court Inspector, stated that she was married to Panchu Charan Adhikary of Nazirgang, Sankrail, Howrah. She was often abused and assaulted by her

mother in law and husband. On April 18 last she was similarly ill treated and so she left the place at about 4-30 P M for her father s house at Entally She crossed the river from Shibpore Ghat and reached Metiabruz Ghat

She then boarded a bus and dropped at Dufferin Road and took another bus for Entally She met the accused in the bus who was a perfect stranger to her The man volunteered to reach her to her father at Entally who was he said well known to him

The poor girl took his words to be true and followed him without any suspicion But the acaused took her to Howrah Station and then to Haroganj Bazar road on foot when she suspec ted him and began to cry through fear

A Head Constable came there and arrested the accused

Mir Sadhan the accused was sentenced to one year s imprisonment (1)

Sometimes the girl is falsely told that her father or mother is seriously ill and wants to see her

She knows the difficulty of taking the permission of her husband or mother in law In her anxiety she leaves with her neighbour never suspecting that the news is a mere hoax An

(1) Liberty, 2-11 32.

intelligent educated girl would probably ask to see the letter from her parents inorder to verify the news, but a village girl is generally uneducated and very simple and it is not very difficult to dupe her.

Plea of taking to place of amusement—

(a) Lakshmi Dasi, aged 15, moved a petition before the Police Magistrate of Sealdah, accusing a man named Ali Hossain.

Ali Hossain was a neighbour of the complainant's husband One evening he took away the girl on the pretext of taking her to a cinema house But instead of doing so, he concealed her from place to place and ultimately took her to Duttabagan. There he induced Lakshmi to deposit the jewellery on her body with him for safe custody and then disappeared. The girl then returned to her mother (1)

(b) Satyahari was a cinema operator at Purulia He gave free passes of the cinema to his neighbour and took his family to the show several times In this way he became intimate with Bijalibala the wife of his neighbour. One day taking advantage of the absence of her husband he abducted Bijali with the help of his friend Jamini and two women The girl was rescued by the police and Satyahari and his associates were

(1) Liberty, 1-9-32

sent to jail by the Special Magistrate of Purulia on 8th July 1932.

(c) The case given below is also a typical one.

Bhusan Bala Dasi a married girl of 16 went on a visit to her sister at Panihati On January 21 during the absence of her sister Chandra Mistri and Hamidan Bibi proposed to her to accompany them to the Agarpara mela She went After seeing the mela accused induced her to board a carriage on the pretext that she should be shown the Bally Bridge She was then taken from place to place and was eventually taken to a mosque for conversion to the Moslem faith A constable who heard that there was a likelihood of a breach of peace over the conversion of a Hindu girl went to the spot and rescued the girl

Chandra Mistri and his wife Hamidan were sent up for abduction of the girl and were sentenced by the Assistant Sessions Judge of Alipore to five years rigorous imprisonment each

Drivers—

Cases are not uncommon in which the drivers took the female occupants of their carriage or taxi to a lonely place and committed criminal assault

(a) The most daring case of this nature is that of Afzal a carter who killed the husband and tried to marry his wife

On 2nd April 1932, Mansur Ali and his wife Haliman Bibi were going in the cart of Afzal from village Chandur in Arambagh to Calcutta. At midnight Afzal stopped his cart, dragged Mansur to a distance and killed him with a *dao*. Haliman saw everything from inside the cart, but did not say anything through fear.

Then Afzal (the carter) took Haliman to the house of his aunt and asked her to marry him. On her refusal, Afzal took her again in the cart to a jungle and struck her with *dao*. She became unconscious and was left there for dead.

Next day a theatrical party was passing by the way and gave information to the police who sent Aliman to Arambagh Hospital. Afzal was arrested and sentenced to transportation for life. (1)

(b) The ordeals of a woman state official, who jumped out of a car which, it was alleged was being driven at a high speed away from her destination, was revealed on April 28, 1933 by the arrest of a young Muslim motor driver, Jan Mahomed. by the Hyderabad State Police on a charge of abducting Miss Canaran, Lady Superintendent of the State Treasury.

It appears that the accused was employed as a driver by Miss Canaran. On the day of the

(1) Sanjivani 25-8-32

occurrence Miss Canaran had ordered the accused to take her to Hyderabad along the Murshirabad Road but it is alleged he disobeyed the order and drove towards Lalaguda at a high speed Despite her protests Jan Mahomed refused to reduce the speed and fearing foul play Miss Canaran jumped from the car

The accused did not stop however and it was not until sometime later that she was picked up unconscious and bleeding by a Mr Scrivener a District Loco Superintendent. She was taken to the Lalaguda Hospital where first aid was rendered and subsequently removed to a nursing home in Hyderadad

ABDUCTION BY FORCE

ABDUCTION BY FORCE

Abduction of girls by force is unfortunately very common under the British rule in Bengal especially in the eastern districts of the province where the Muhammedan population predominates.

The total number of abduction cases recorded during the last six years vary from 830 to 1,057.

It would appear from the statement by the Government of Bengal that the total number of cases of abduction in the province was approximately 830 in 1926, but it has gradually risen to 898, 976, 1057, 991 and 993 approximately in 1927, 1928, 1929. 1930 and 1931 respectively.

The Assailants

Sexual crimes are unfortunately more common among the Bengalee Muhammedans owing to want of proper education

Cases of abduction and rape on Muhammedan girls by Muhammedan ruffians are very common. The women of their Hindu neighbours who live in distant villages amidst a Muhammedan population, also suffer frequently in their hands.

From the statistics supplied by the Government of Bengal of the cases of abduction in Bengal from the year 1926 to 1931 it may be seen that the assailants—no matter whether the victims were Muhammedans or Hindus—were in most cases Mnnammedans. It also shows that while not more than nine Hindus were involved in crimes against Muhammedan women the Muhammedans were responsible for abduction of as many as 150 Hindu women in a single year These statistics also make it clear that the assailants of Muhammedan women were almost invariably Muhammedans

In an editorial on outrages on women the Muhammedan editor of the Mussalman said It is of course true that in Bengal the number of Muslim ruffians who commit these crimes is larger than that of the Hindu ruffians of the same category as Mussalmans we hang down our heads in shame when we find persons bearing Muslim names faring in criminal courts in cases of abduction and rape and for similar other offences

Some of these Muhammedans however apparently do not think the abduction and rape of an innocent girl a matter of shame especially when the poor victim is a non Muhammedan Even relatives have been known to help the

assailants in concealing the victims from place to place Though such cases of outrages on women by Muhammedan hooligans are on the increase and their community suffers as much as the Hindus, no serious attempt has been made by the leading men of the community to root out the evil and improve the sexual morality of their young men,

In several cases of abduction the Muhammedan police officers and even the trying magistrates have not impressed the public that they are wholly above communal bias, The Jessore abduction case in which the public prosecutor would not prosecute the accused after he had been committed to the sessions and the Goalando abduction case in which the District Judge had to order a retrial after the accused had been discharged by the trying magistrate, afford apt illustrations of the point

The Victims

The Muhammedan women were the largest sufferers from these crimes against women. The number of cases in which the victims were Hindu women varied between 400 and 450 during the last six years, while the number of Muhammedan women abducted during the same period varied from 480 to 653.

The Notorious Districts

The District of Mymensingh topped the list with 204 cases of abduction in the year 1931 while Barisal comes second The cases of abduc tion are very frequent in those districts where the population is predominantly Muhammedan.

In the districts like Burdwan Bankura Birbhum etc. these case were only few

MODUS OPERANDI OF GANG RAPE

Abduction From House

Gangs of men, mostly Muhammedans, break into houses of inoffensive peasants and carry off married and unmarried women and after outraging them return the poor half-dead creatures to their own doors.

Sometimes the girl is carried from place to place and detained till rescued by the people or the police.

We give below the description of a typical case in which both the assailant and the victim were Muhammedans.

(*a*) Durujan Bibi alias Amina Khatun is the wife of Tafajuddi Sheik, a Police Constable, of village Doman, in Balliakandi Thana, District Faridpur. On the night of occurrence she was asleep in her room, the door of which was bolted from inside. Three men broke the door open and entered into the room, when Amina cried out. Panchu Molla gagged her mouth by means of a *gamcha* (napkin) and carried her away.

She recognised all of them as they were her neighbours. At first they took her to village Nakal in Jessore and kept her in the house of a

Muhammedan Here Kamiruddi and Ibratulla tried to rape her by force.

They[1] then took her to the house of a prostitute named Kiran at Kagura (Jessore) and tried to sell her for Rs 50 only

A *Dafadar* (village constable) named Behari Bagdi somehow got information of this fact and gave information at the thana and also to the husband of Amina

Kamiruddi Ibratulla and Panchu Molla were arrested and convicted by Mr S N Roy Additional Sessions Judge of Faridpur The first two accused were sentenced to five years and the third to three years rigorous imprisonment (1)

(b) The young wife of Sheikh Adu of Sarail (Tippera) was forcibly abducted from her house by four Muhammedans They took her from one place to another for six months and forcibly ravished her One day her husband found her out about 3 miles from his house and four persons named Somar Bap Kadir Mantu and Sovan were arrested

They were tried by Mr S Rahman Magistrate of Brahmanbaria. Somar Bap was acquitted while Mantu was fined Rupees one hundred only Only Kadir and Sovan were sent to Jail for 4 months and one year respectively They

(1) Sanjibani, 28-4 32

appealed to the Judge at Comilla and Kadir and Mantu were acquitted and only the conviction of Sovan was upheld One year's imprisonment for forcible abduction of a married girl and rape cannot be too lightly condemned (1)

(c) Sarupjan Bibi aged 12 or 13 years, of village Akcha, Thana Magura was sleeping with her widowed mother on the night of occurrence as her husband had gone to a distant village. At night six Muhammedans named Kayemaddi, Baher Fakir, Abdul, Bhangur, Dalildaddin and Torab broke the door and began to drag the poor girl Her mother came to her rescue, but was struck with a *dao* The ruffians then gagged the girl and carried her to a garden and forcibly ravished her one after another. The girl became unconscious and was taken to the house of Kayemuddi. For the next two days they took the girl to different places and again ravished her. They then let her go.

All the accused were arrested and tried by Mr. H. Mukherji, Additional Sessions Judge of Jessore Kayemuddi was sentenced to 10 years, Bahar Fakir 9 years, Abdul and Bhangar to 7 years, Dalildaddin to 3 years and Torab to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment. (2)

(*d*) Hausi Bibi, the young wife of Basatulla of Nachked Village in Gurdaspur Thana, Rajshahi

(1) Sanjibani, 25-8-32 (2) Sanjibani, 21 4- 2

was alone in her house on the night of occurrence. Her husband went to the *hat* (market) and was late in returning home on account of rains Taking advantage of his absence, Amir, Kalim Mistry and Sadek Mondal cut the bamboo walls and entered into her room They gagged her mouth and carried her away to a place where she was criminally assaulted

The girl was then taken towards Nazirpur Bazar but on seeing three men on the way they fled through fear leaving her there.

The girl s woes were not yet at an end and she fell from a frying pan to fire. The four men who came there were Keramat Muhammed Ali and Joy Pramanik. On seeing the hapless condition of the girl they conspired to enjoy her and took her to a house where she was confined for 8 or 9 days They then took her to Natore and kept her in a brothel at Atrai Here an application was made to the Magistrate on behalf of Hausi Bibi for declaring her as a prostitute The magistrate put some questions to Hausi Bibi through suspicion when she told him the whole story As the result of her statement all the men were arrested and sent up to the Sessions Court for taking their trial Amir Sadeq and Karim who abducted the girl from her home were sent to jail; but Muhammed Asmat

Keramat and Joy Paramanik who took her from the way were acquitted. (1)

Abduction of Hindu girls by Muhammedans—

(a) Charubala Dasi of Kajjipara (Jalpaiguri) was asleep in her house when 16 Muhammedans broke open into her room and forcibly carried her away. She was ravished by 8 of the ruffians. They tried to convert her to Muhammedanism, when she was rescued with the help of a pleader.

Three Muhammedans were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment from 4 to 6 years. (2)

(*b*) The following case is of a more daring nature.

Jagatmohini a beautiful widow of 15 years of village Jahanabad, in Satkhira Thana, Khulna was on the night of occurrence (28th July 1932) asleep in a room with her sister-in-law ; while two male members of the family were sleeping in the verandah.

At midnight a Muhammedan named Sahi Bukhtear alias Hafez with two other men entered the room by cutting the bamboo-walls and tried to carry away the girl. At the cry of Jagatmohini, Kalipada and Sasadhar, her relatives, went to her assistance and Bukhtiar

(1) Sanjibani, 2-3-33. (2) Sanjivani, 19-5-32

then let her off and escaped They identified Bukhtiar by torchlight but his accomplices could not be recognised in the dark. Bukhtiar was arrested by the police and sentenced to five years R. I by the Judge (1)

It is a matter of shame that in some cases the ruffians who commit abduction and rape in East Bengal are helped by influential Muhammedans and treated like heroes. People who commit rape and abduction should be treated as outcastes and worst criminals by a society in its own interest Licentious men are like beasts and are no respector of person and the Government statistics show that Muhammedan women suffer more in the hands of these ruffians of their own community The Muhammedan leaders of East Bengal should nip in the bud this spirit of abduction and rape among some of the young men of their community

(a) Kusumkumari Dasi a poor widow of village Helanchi Thana Manirampur was sleeping in her hut with her young daughter Sarojini aged 13 years.

A Muhammedan ruffian named Achan Gazi of Village Sagara cut open the thatched wall of her hut and entered into the room He tried to ravish the girl who awoke and cried out

(1) Sanjivani, 16-2 33.

Her mother struggled with the assailant and finding no other means struck him with a *dao*. The brave woman then tried to catch the ruffian, who however escaped leaving a portion of his cloth in her hand. Hearing her shout her minor son came there with another man and followed Achan to some distance but could not catch him.

The Hindu Asst. Sub-Inspector of Manirampur Thana, who enquired into the case took charge of the blood stained *dao* and torn cloth of Achan Gazi The remaining portion of the cloth was found in the house of Achan who was sent up At that time he was conscious, but still did not make any statement. He however died at the Jessore Hospital and made a dying declaration implicating Kusumkumari, her minor son and another man.

The Muhammedan Deputy Superintendent of Police of Jessore sent up the brave women, who killed the ruffian !

Bijay Gopal Chandra of village Majiali helped the poor women in the case. At this the Muhammedans of the village set fire to his house. The straw stores of Lalit Mohan Das, who gave shelter to the son of Kusum Kumari, was also set on fire !

The poor women were forced to leave their village. (1)

(1) Sanjivani 31-3-32

After this unsuccessful attempt by Achan Gaji in which he lost his life a gang of Muhammedans forcibly abducted Sarojini and brutally ravished the unfortunate girl She was rescued by the police from a boat on the river Kapotaksha in Jessore. Ten Muhammedans were arrested and tried at the court of sessions

Osimaddi Dafader who was arrested while taking Sarojini in the boat was sentenced on 2nd July 1932 to 17 years rigorous imprisonment while his confederates Abdul Hamid Sardar and Taleb Dafadar got 14 years each and Osman Gazi 7 years imprisonment The other five accused were sentenced to 2 years imprisonment each on a charge of unlawful assembly !

(*b*) Hemantakumari a poor Hindu girl 14 years old of village Machna was abducted by four Muhammedans headed by Ahedali Gazi Munshi of the local mosque. They cut open the thatched wall of the hut tied her mother by rope to a post and carried the girl away The unfortunate girl was ravished by the ruffians and injuries were found on medical examination

It will seem strange to many that the Muhammedans of ten neighbouring villages called a meeting and raised subscriptions for the

assailants ! Only two Muhammedans left the meeting refusing to help such rogues. (1)

Relatives of the ruffians even help them in their heinous work and aid and abet in concealing abducted girls in their houses. In some cases father, son, uncle and relatives joined in ravishing unfortunate captive Hindu girls.

Abduction From the Way or Village Tank

(a) The woman may be kidnapped on a village way.

Brajabala Dasi while coming home from Mohanpur in the evening with her son, was forcibly carried away by four Muhammedans to a jungle where she was ravished by all of them. The son fled to the village and took some villagers to the place of occurrence, when the accused decamped leaving the woman in a precarious condition.

The Additional Sessions Judge of Pabna convicted the accused Kusholal (a Muhammedan) and sentenced him to undergo rigorous imprisonment for seven years,

(b) In a village, women go the village tank for the supply of water for household purposes and for bathing People who are well-to-do have their own tanks and their women have

(1) Sanjivani, 15-9-32

no necessity of going out for these purposes But poor women have to walk to the village tank morning and evening People of bad character sometimes forcibly kidnap women going alone after evening

(i) Suba Dewan of Nafarpur P S Naogaon missed his wife from his bed on one morning He searched for her and on receiving some clue from a neighbour of the accused watched the house of Rajab. Some time after midnight the accused Rajab and Bakshi were found removing his wife when the complainant s party seized the woman from the hands of the accused The woman gave her story that when she went to ease herself at night the accused persons caught her from behind gagged her took her to a *til* (sesame) field and ravished her against her will and kept her hidden on a *chang* (a raised platform) in Rajab s house The accused again ravished her on the *chang* and were just removing her

The Additional Sessions Judge of Rajshahi sentenced Rajab and Bakshi to 5 and 7 years rigorous inprisonment on two charges on 24th Sept 1932

(ii) Subhasini is the 17 years old widowed daughter of Bipin Behari Das of village Kamal pur in Rajbari Thana of district Faridpur On

4th May 1931 she went out of her house to answer a call of nature Kheluddi was concealed behind a tree at the back of the house with two other men. They gagged her and threatened her with a dagger should she attempt to shout. They then carried the girl on their shoulders and took her to the house of Mongla one of the men Kheluddi ravished the girl there against her wish. Next night he took her to the *house of his father-in-law* and raped her there again. Next day the President of the local Union Board somehow got scent of the matter and rescued Subhasini.

The Muhammedan Subdivisional Magistrate declared the case to be false and acquitted the accused ! On reference to the higher court, a retrial was ordered and Kheluddi was re-arrested on 22nd March 1932 and sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment by the Additional Sessions Judge.

Panchami, a married girl of 13 of Khardah (24 Perganas) was ill treated by her mother-in-law. A Muhammedan woman named Sukjan feigned sympathy with her and promised to take her to her mother On 8th July 1932 Panchami's mother-in-law went elsewhere. Taking advantage of her absence Sukjan went to the house, and awakened the girl. She then

handed her over to her son in law Ahed Ali who took her to his own house and kept her there for seven days Ahed raped the girl by force every night during her stay there. One day taking advantage of his absence she mana ged to escape. Both Ahed and Sukjan were arrested and tried before the Sessions Judge of Alipur Ahed was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 and five years R I for criminal assault and two years for seducing the girl both the sentences to run concurrently While his mother-in law and accomplice Sukjan got two years R I only

The following case is also similar and the victim was a Muhammedan girl

Amina Khatun the married daughter of Abdul Gaffur Miya of village Badurtala Atbaria was enticed away from her house by a Muhammedan named Ishaq on the false plea of taking her to her mother Ishaq kept her in a vacant house and committed criminal assault on her Her cry drew the notice of a passers by who gave infor mation to her father and husband But when they went there for the girl they were driven out by Ishaq and the girl was then rescued with the help of the police During his trial Ishaq claimed the girl as his married wife ! The Assis tant Sessions Judge of Barisal found him guilty and sent him to jail for three years (1)

(1) Sanjivani

We give below a peculiar case in which the father of the girl was duped and his daughter abducted.

Kewalram and Shamlal went to the house of Rajaram Brahmin, residing in village Tudaho, Fatehabad, Agra, and told him that his son Ramdayal, who had been to Calcutta for several years was seriously ill and that he wanted to see both his father and sister Surajmukhi, and that he had sent their travelling expenses through them (accused). Thus induced the father and daughter left the village in company of the accused and arrived at Howrah Station by a Down Train on September 5. They engaged two rickshaws, one occupied by Rajaram and accused Shamlal and the other was occupied by accused Kewalram and the girl.

After crossing the Howrah Bridge Kewalram took the girl in a different direction under cover of the night and heavy traffic on the road to a house in a certain locality. In the meantime accused Shamlal pretended before Rajaram that there was a warrant against him and he ran away leaving him in the rickshaw. Rajaram met a countryman of his, and searched for his daughter and the accused, but all in vain.

Kewalram made immoral proposals to the girl, threatening her with personal violence. The girl

protested whereupon she was taken by the accused in a hackney carriage to Lake Road on the plea of taking her to her brother and she was kept in a house there.

The girl managed to relate her story to some people there with the result that she was rescued by the Tollygunge police

The Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate found both the accused guilty on 30th Sept 1932 and sentenced Kewalram and Shamlal to rigorous imprisonment

Abduction of an European lady doctor on the pretext of call—

There was an interesting case of abduction of an European lady doctor of the English Mission Hospital at Ranchi On the night following Dolejatra Fredy Daud and Dhankumar three local Christians came to the lady doctor in a motor car and requested her to accompany them to attend a labour case. The lady doctor in good faith accompanied them The accused took her to a place a few miles off Ranchi and all of them raped the unfortunate lady

The accused were later on traced and each of them was sentenced on 2-9 32 by the Judicial Commissioner of Ranchi to transportation for life

These ruffians deserved the severe punishment

BROTHEL AREAS
AND
THEIR INMATES

COLONIES OF PROSTITUTES IN TOWNS

The prostitutes have a tendency of living in a locality inhabited by other fallen women and where no complaints from neighbours would be expected. In this way they have seggregated themselves and colonies of fallen women have arisen in every city or district town of importance. Women living in these vice districts are more certain of customers as licentious men and newcomers to the town visit such localities in search of pleasure and all the girls get a chance.

In Calcutta

Calcutta is the largest city in India and its large cosmopolitan population consisting largely of men living in forced abstinence accounts for the large brothel areas in the city. A description of these 'red lantern districts' as they are called in Europe will be interesting as they might be things of the past when the new Immoral Traffic Act is enforced

In Central Calcutta

In central part of Calcutta there are several colonies of prostitutes. Harkata and Sonagachi are the largest and the most notorious of these colonies

Harkata area—

This district has been named from Harkata Lane, off Bowbazar street The population of almost the whole of this lane (except a few house near the Bowbazar end) Radhamohan Pal Lane and Premchand Boral Street (the portion between Banerji Lane and Harkata Lane) consists of public women Most of the women may be seen in the evening standing at their doors or sitting in the windows for customers These brothels being situated near the important schools and colleges many students living in the neigh bouring hostels are found among the visitors.

Keranibagan Area—

This district includes Keranibagan Lane off Bowbagar Street Mostly low class women live in this area.

Bowbazar area—

The rooms over some of the shops in Bow bazar Street near the Bowbazar market are inhabited by high class courtesans These women depend on friends and touts for their customers ; but are sometimes also found standing in the verandah Some of them belong to the *rajji* class and are accomplished musicians and dancers. There is no regular colony of these women in this area

Mechuabazar area—

There was at one time a colony of low class prostitutes along Chitpur Road near its junction with Mechuabazar Street. There are still several brothels in this portion of Chitpur Road especially near the crossing of Muktaram Babu's Street, and also in Panchi Dhopani's Lane. There are several up-country women, mostly old haggards, who cater to the tastes of the up-country men living in Burrabazar.

Heramba Das Lane off Mechuabazar Street and the portion of Bechu Chatterjee Street near Cornwallis Street, contain a few *bustees* full of low class harlots.

Northern Calcutta

Simla area—

There is a colony of public women near Maniktola Street. Chandra Sur Lane and a narrow lane off Mohendra Gossain Lane are especially notorious. This area is also known as *dompara* though no *dom* (a low caste) resides there now.

Rambagan area—

There is another large colony of harlots at Rambagan. Beadon street was at one time the centre of amusement and there were three leading Bengalee theatres in which the female parts were

taken by prostitutes Drunkards and licentious men were prominent among the patrons of these theatres Most of the dancing girls received very little pay and depended on the patronage of the theatre going young men The ticket collectors and servants of the theatres acted as pimps Most of the girls lived in the neighbourhood and in this way Rambagan grew in importance as an important centre of the trade. There is now only one theatre left in this area Raja Gurudas Street, which runs alongside Minerva Theatre and also the portion of Maniktola Street from Beadon Square to the houses of the Dutta family of Rambagan contain houses of ill fame

Jorasanko area—

There are several brothels at Jorasanko in the portion of Upper Chitpur Road near Maniktola Spur crossing Sethbagan Lane (off Ratan Sirkar Garden Street) Pathuriaghata Lane and Brajadulal Street contain many brothels the inmates of most of them being up country women

Darmahatta area—

There are low class brothels behind the Mint and in the portion of Darmahatta Street from Meerbahar Ghat Street to Posta Bazar These brothels are mainly frequented by coolies sailors and bazar sircars of the shops and godowns in the neighbourhood

Ahiritola area—

There are low class brothels near the Ahiritola Bazar. Nather Bagan Lane, Kasi Dutt Lane and Sen Lane contain many huts full of haggard looking women, who draw their clients mostly from the labourers and boatmen

Ananda Khan Lane off Beniatola Street and Ramdhan Khan Lane off Shovabazar Street are also notorious.

Sashi Sur Lane off Sovabazar Street is full of brothels ; but the women of this locality are a little better than the *bustee* class

Chitpur Area—

Most of the houses over shops on both sides of northern portion of Upper Chitpur Road from junction of Durga Charan Mitra Street are inhabited by women of ill fame. The portion of Chitpur Road near Oriental Seminary has now been cleared and there are no brothels near the Beadon Street junction of Chitpur. There are however still a few brothels in Garanhatta Street.

Sonagachi Area—

The Sonagachi area is one of the largest colonies of high class prostitutes.

The Chitpur ends of Durga Charan Mitra Street and Imambuksh Lane, Sonagachi Lane and Moniruddin Lane all of which branch from it and Joy Mitra's Lane contain a large number of

these women Most of the women of this locality do not stand on the door or verandah for their customers and depend on touts Many of them are in the keeping of rich men

Grey Street especially the portion between the Central Avenue and Chitpur Road contain many brothels

Bagbazar Area—

There is a colony of low class prostitutes near the Chitpur end of Bagbazar Street Haralal Mitra Street and Nandalal Bose s Lane Most of these women live in huts and have no claim on any sort of accomplishment They only earn by satisfying the sexual appetite of their clients

SOUTHERN CALCUTTA

The southern portion of Calcutta is less thickly populated and there are no important colonies of public women

Kalighat Area—

Kalighat being a place of pilgrimage attracts a large number of visitors from all parts of India There are no brothels near the temple but there is a small colony of low class women in Kalighat Road near the Kalighat market These women get most of their customers from the young men from the villages visiting the temple

Bhowanipur Area—

There is a small colony at Harish Chatterjee Street near Hazra Road end. There is a narrow lane connecting this street with Kalighat Road which is populated by low class harlots. There is a wine shop in the neighbourhood and as wine stimulates sexual passion, the trade of prostitution thrives in this locality.

There are also several brothels on the western side of Hazra Park and in Mahes Chaudhary Lane.

Kareya area—

There is a colony of European and Anglo-Indian prostitutes at Kareya. Ahiripuker Road contains many brothels which are mainly visited by Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Muhammedans and sometimes also by Hindus in European dress. Some of these women stand at their doors or even take to street walking for securing customers Others depend on touts and drivers of phaetons for their clients. Empty phaetons may be seen standing on the roadside in European quarters and the drivers will oblige any one by taking him to a woman of pleasure Some of the taxi drivers also act as touts of these women.

Watgunge area—

Japanese prostitutes are seen in Watgunge Street near the Khiderpur Dock, and all of them

live in one area There are about 34 Japanese women aged between 20 and 40 The Japanese brothels are distinguished by the beautiful paper lanterns hanging on their verandahs The women dressed in Japanese costumes look like gay butterflies They are patronised mainly by Japanese sailors and sometimes also by Europeans and Indians who want a change.

Country Towns

Khulna—

Khulna is an important steamer station in Bengal and has a population of 19 120 of whom 11 968 are male and 7 152 females A large number of people visit this town and there is a colony of public women who cater to the needs of the visitors Passengers to or from Calcutta from the interior of Eastern Bengal have to pass a night at Khulna A boarding house generally charges Re 1 for a night while the charge for passing a night in the room of a prostitute is from Re 1 to Rs. 3 only These brothels thus serve as lodging houses for passengers of a licentious character There are many brothels in Ferry Ghat Road and also a few low class huts near the Bazar

DACCA—

Dacca is the centre of trade in Eastern Bengal and contains a population of 138,518. In this town also the number of men is higher than that of women. There are 79,365 males against 59,153 females.

The town contains a large brothel area.

FRENCH CHANDERNAGAR—

Chandernagar, a small French town near Calcutta, is notorious for its cheap wine and women. It is a favourite place for drunkards and licentious men who visit the town on holidays. There are more wine shops in this town than in any large district in British India and this business thrives under the patronage of the French Government. Women of prostitute class are also as plentiful as wine

There are two large colonies of Indian prostitutes, one at Lakhiganj, Khejuritala on the Grand Trunk Road and the other at Hatkhola on the Strand Road on the southern portion of the town. The Indian prostitutes have to undergo medical examination twice a month.

French and other European prostitutes are also available for those who can afford to pay for them. These girls live in the hotels and ply their trade as clandestine prostitutes.

CHITTAGONG—

Chittagong is a prosperous port with a population of 53 156 of whom 35 049 are male and only 18 107 females There are two important colonies of prostitutes one, at Nalapara near the station and another at Balua Dighi.

BENARES

Benares is famous for its *vaijis* or dancing girls These women are the aristocrats of their profession and are trained musicians They learn music from *ostads* (music teachers) who are paid handsome fees Some of the *vaijis* are beautiful and are in great demand But these women generally do not receive ordinary visitors. A night s entertainment may cost anything from Rs 15 to 100 Most of these women live at *Dal-ka mundi* a lane near *Kotwali* off the *chauk* These *vaijis* are mostly Muhommedan and up-country women There are also several *Kashmiri* girls

At *Kunji-tola* near *Bans Fatal* there is a small colony of Bengalee prostitutes

BOMBAY CITY

In Bombay the Amended Bombay Prevention of Brothels Act making brothels illegal is in force About three years ago there were about 400 brothels in a seggregated area But this area is still now inhabited by more than five thousand

public women who openly carry on their trade as before. As these women rent separate rooms, the rooms used by them do not come under the legal definition of a brothel !

KARACHI

Karachi, like Bombay, has no brothels so far as the legal definition of the word goes. There are however prostitutes living in separate rooms carrying on their trade independently of middle men.

CUTTACK

Cuttack is an important town in Orissa and its population mainly consists of Uriyas and Bengalee and Telegu settlers. Uriya prostitutes are found in Telanga Bazar. Gogonath Gully and Masjidbari Gulli contain both Uriya and Telegu women There are also some Bengalee girls in Masjidbari Gulli. Baxi Bazar is notorious for Indian Christian women.

MADRAS CITY

In Madras city there is a large colony of prostitutes in Mint Street and Coral Merchant Street Manni Road was notorious for it at one time There are also some prostitutes in Mount Road and Chetti Palayam.

CLASSES OF BROTHELS

High class Brothels—

The leading houses of prostitution are found in the main streets and lanes of good traffic. In Calcutta portions of Upper Chitpur Road, Rambagan Sonagachi and Bowbazar Street contain several brothels of this type In most cases women take only one room and pay rent to the lessee or the landlord

A room in a two storied house in these localities costs from Rs. 20 to 50 per month

A typical room in a brothel contains a bed and costly mahogany furniture and fine draperies. A large mirror adorns the wall which is further decorated with pictures of naked women The room of a more fortunate girl is furnished with lavish display of luxury The floor is covered with a carpet while sofas and easy chairs add to the comfort and luxury of the clients Vases and statuettes may also be found

The rooms of all the prostitutes are decorated in a stereotyped way and answer to the above description

Music is played on harmonium or organs. Piano is not suitable for Indian music and so is not

kept by ordinary prostitutes. *Tabla* is a necessary accompaniment.

The women who are more fortunate are in the keeping of well-to-do men; while others have to depend on casual visitors, As most of these women have some knowledge of music and dancing, men are attracted to these brothels and pay high fees for their enjoyment.

A girl in the keeping of a rich man keeps a cook and servants and live in luxury. While her less fortunate sisters cook their own food generally once in the morning and a portion of it is kept apart for the night. In most of the brothels there is a common servant who is paid by contributions from all the inmates of the house.

Low Class Brothels—

The low class brothels are generally in huts in the slum quarters of the cities.

The rent of a room in these huts varies from Rs. 3 to 5 per month. The rooms are poorly furnished and the furniture generally consists of two cheap wooden *taktaposh* (bed stead), one of which is smaller in size and is meant for sitting.

A woman living in such a brothel has a precarious existence Her monthly income is barely sufficient to keep her alive. Her dress consists of a chemise, a cheap *sari* and a few ornaments generally of rolled gold.

CRIME IN BROTHELS

The prostitutes live a life full of risks at the hands of robbers and criminals. She has no bank accounts or Goverment papers and all her savings are invested in jewellery and cash She has to entertain men unknown to her

Woman Murdered for Jewellery—

Recently several Hindus and Muhammedans were sent up on charges of conspiracy to commit dacoity in the house of a rich woman of the town Lakhimoni Dassi (50) of 12 Imambux Lane Burtola, Calcutta and rob her of her cash and jewellery to the value of about Rs 26,000 after throttling her to death and also putting her daughter Nanibala (33) in instant fear of death and causing hurt to her on July 19 1932

The case was tried by Khan Bahadur M Fazlul Karim Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate of Jorabagan

Mr B C Sen Assistant Public Prosecutor in opening the case for the Crown said that on July 17 accused Nagendra along with others went to Majibar Rahaman a neighbour of the deceased and asked him to arrange for a hiding place so

that they could commit a burglary in one of the neighbouring houses. Mujibar found a suitable place on the ledge of the adjoining house, where they spent a portion of the night and succeeded in spotting the place and its surroundings. On the next evening five of them came there and went inside the house of their victim shortly after midnight keeping Mujibar outside to mount guard. After about an hour they came back with a booty and asked Mujibar to reach them safe on the main road. The booty consisted of cash and G. C. Notes amounting to about Rs. 20,000 and about Rs. 6,000 in jewellery. The accused distributed the spoils among themselves. The first accused deposited a sum of Rs. 2,500 with a relation of his and when he was arrested he took the police to that house and a portion of the amount was recovered. The ornaments were taken to different places, melted and the gold was sold at Sonaputty.

On the application of the Public Prosecutor accused Mujibar Rahaman was tendered pardon on condition that he would make a true and full disclosure of the matter. He was then made an approver and was examined as a witness on behalf of the crown.

Mujibar said that he knew some of the accused including Rahim who lived in the same

locality and was a neighbour of his Accused Gopinath,he said visited an *Akhra* on Upper Chitpur Road and he met him there. Premises No 12 Imambux Lane the house where the dacoity was committed was visible from witness s house. Witness knew the inmates of the house Lakhimoni and her daughter Nanibala lived there. Lakhimoni had been murdered about three months ago The approver further corroborated the prosecution story

Nanibala Dassi daughter of the deceased said that on the night of occurrence she was sleeping with her little child on the floor and that her mother was sleeping on the bedstead in the same room She was roused from her sleep when the men pressed her throat and tied her hands and feet There were five men in the room two of whom were on the bedstead One of the men demanded from her the keys of the almirah and the iron safe Witness pointed them out They broke open two boxes and opened the safe and removed Rs. 20 000 to Rs 22 000 as also ornaments worth about Rs. 4 000 They also removed ornaments from her person and from the person of her mother They were armed with *Bhojalis* and used two torches at times The men threatened witness with being shot if she raised an alarm and told her that they had a motor car waiting downstairs After they had

left witness found her mother lying dead with a piece of cloth tied round her neck and that her legs were tied to the *'Saree'* which she was wearing. Witness identified accused Rahim and Mujibar (approver) as both of them were her neighbours, (1)

Murders of prostitutes for gain are not very rare, The lives of these helpless women are at the mercy of robbers and violent jealous paramours, The women generally refuse to entertain an unknown visitor after midnight But it is easy to gain their confidence, A man posing as a rich man and visiting frequently may ward off any suspicion from the mind of a woman.

Murder of visitors by brothel keepers for their money is however very rare, Pockets of drunken customers are often picked by the prostitutes, their servants or the brothel keepers.

Some of the prostitutes act as decoy of thieves and do not scruple to rob their visitors It is not safe for a stranger to enter a low class den, The thieves find these brothels convenient places of concealment and can dispose of their booty by means of the women, In the sensational note forgery case, K. V. Seyne the well known blockmaker was arrested with many forged

(1) Liberty, 21-10-32

Government Currency notes in the room of a prostitute.

The brothels also serve for gambling and smuggling of wine and contraband drugs

Special patrols may be detailed by the police to keep a watch in the area inhabited by the women of the town with a view to prevent murders of women by the people who visit them at night.

The brothel keepers should at the same time be warned to advise their tennants to take special precautions while admitting visitors

LIFE OF A PROSTITUTE IN A BROTHEL

A public woman beautifully dressed looks like a butterfly. But is she happy ?

A fortunate courtesan may have all the luxuries that she can think of, but she is afraid of the day when her charms will be gone and there will be no dear one to look after her. She drowns such unpleasant thoughts in wine.

The less fortunate women make up their appearance to hide the pallor in their face and force a smile on their lips to attract men. They have to laugh though their body may ail. In inclement weather the unfortunate girls have to stand exposed to cold or rains in the hope of securing a visitor.

There is no certainty of their income which varies with the weather, season and condition of the money market.

Dress of Prostitutes—

The prostitutes spend large sums of money on clothing, jewellery and scents.

The *vaiji's* wear splendid Benares silk *saree* woven with gold threads and gold ornaments on every possible part of the body. Some of

them wear clothes and jewellery worth a fortune. The dancing girls wear fine cloths which seem invented to exhibit more conspicuously what they were intended to hide.

The more up-to-date prostitutes of the modern cities follow the fashions led by the educated girls. It is therefore sometimes very difficult to distinguish a modern courtesan from a high class respectable girl from their outward appearance alone. These women are not anxious to advertise themselves for what they are and are the aristocrats among the prostitutes.

The women are very fond of fine clothes and ornaments The *baniwalli* generally supplies them with articles of dress on credit and this is one of their tricks to keep a woman in debt The ornaments are sometimes the property of the *baniwalli* who lends them to her inmates to increase their power of attraction

The low class prostitutes who cannot afford to buy gold jewellery use rolled gold ornaments Some of the girls also use these ornaments as a matter of safety against murderers though they possess valuable jewellery

Culture—

Few of the inmates of the brothels can read and fewer still can write But still Saraswati

the goddess of learning is worshipped with great pomp in these brothels !

The women who can read generally indulge in cheap novels. There are however many educated girls among the high class courtesans who can discuss the characters in the stories from Rabindranath or Sarat Chandra like any critic of a literary journal, They subscribe fashionable papers and read newspapers

Music is a favourite subject of the women as increases their power of attraction. An accomplished musician and dancer earns more than those who depend on their personal charms and inviting glances. Most of the women, except those living in the lowest class of brothels can at least sing some popular theatrical love songs. The higher grade girls take great pains in learning music from a musician and there are some who can play well on *esraj*. The girls attached to theatres learn dancing and entertain their visitors with lascivious dances.

Ordinary Routine of Life—

The ordinary routine of life of an Indian prostitute is generally the same throughout the year At night—when the city sleeps—they are wide awake. The night is like day to them and they sleep in the day when we work.

With the approach of evening the women

arrange their braids and add finishing touches to their make up and dress.

At nightfull the women sit at the window on the verandah or at the doors to lure men The high class prostitutes do not stand in this way and depend on touts for their customers ; while the wretched women of the slums resort to the street Some of them entertain succession of customers every night

Scenes of bacchant excitement and of wildest abandonment are seen in the rooms which were quiet during the day The women wear a smiling face and to a casual onlooker there seems to be all mirth and happiness. In some room a girl is singing a love song while her drunken lover is trying to follow her in hoarse voice. In another room a girl is dancing with *ghungur* (bells) tied round her ankles to the music of a cheap harmonium or *sarengi* (a kind of Indian string instrument) As night advances the place looks like a veritable hell the whole company visitors and girls being mad with liquor

The women rise late in the morning and take their bath In Calcutta many of these women go to the Ganges for a bath through the belief that the water of the Ganges can wash their sins There is also another ulterior motive—capture of new customers

In most of the brothels there is a female cook, generally an old prostitute, who prepares their food.

Amusement—

The women in the houses of prostitution have very little amusement.

They spend their time in gossiping and in playing cards.

Some of them love garden parties and induce their lovers to make arrangement for such parties if they can.

Appearance—

Among the kept mistresses and *vaiys* there are many beautiful women.

The great majority of the inmates of the brothels however are unattractive in their appearance. After three or four years of life of debauchery, they lose their health and womanly characteristics, and try to hide their pale complexion by painting.

Debt—

In most cases the immates of the brothels live independently and the keepers cannot exploit them through a system of debts

The case of 'new' girls is however different. When a girl enters a brothel of her own accord or through circumstances she has no money to

invest in furniture and clothes the necessary requisites for prostitution. The *baniwalli* advances the money to her and gives her a start in her life of shame. From that day she becomes a slave of the *baniwalli*

In such cases the brothel keeper gives her shelter and supplies her food and clothes but debits the charges to her The earnings of a girl are put to her credit but she gets practically very little as her debts always exceed her income. Exorbitant charges are made for board lodging and clothing with the result that she is soon over head and ears in debt Then begins the pressure to make her work harder and to accept more patrons each night. A prostitute who can earn well and is intelligent soon gets rid of her *baniwalli*

Number of Visitors—

A street walker generally entertains more than one visitor every evening The fee is fixed at so much per hour and varies from a few annas to several rupees according to the beauty and qualification of the girl

The *baniwalli* often forces a girl to take a dozen or more men

The Visitors—

Every age race caste and creed is represented among the patrons of the brothels.

Youth is the age of sexual passion and young men naturally predominate in the heterogenous crowd found in the brothel area. But elderly men are not uncommon and even old men may be found visiting these houses of ill fame.

Rich young men—especially those who have got their fortune by mere accident of birth—are the patrons of the painted beauties of the brothels. Some of the so-called aristocrats. Zemindars and Rajas, lead an idle life. They pass their nights in enjoyment at the brothels and sleep at home in the day. They spend so long as there is any money left and then borrow from the *mahajan* (money lender) at any rate of interest.

Garden parties and visits to theatres are popular items of enjoyment of a rich man. Drinking and music of dancing girls form the usual programme of a garden party.

Many a life have been ruined at the altar of these women. If the records of the insolvency courts are hunted, it will be found that a large number of such cases are the result of wine and women,

Most of the people who visit brothels are not however rich men. Clerks and labourers living a forced bachelor life in the cities form

the majority These are the people who cannot afford to keep their wives with them

There are however many men who have wives—probably more good looking than their favourite street beauties but still visit prostitutes either as a change from their monotonous (!) wives or for drinking It is very difficult to cure such men by moral persuasion

Many young men in their teens visit brothels in the evening and return home before eight o clock. Their parents are generally satisfied with an explanation of a visit to the bioscope. The more daring among them profess to go to a theatre and pass the night in some brothel To secure a copy of the programme of the per formance is not very difficult and is sufficient to ward off the suspicion of parents

In time these boys become incorrigible and even steal the ornaments of their mothers and wives to provide funds for pleasure It is very bad to allow young boys to visit theatres unattended

After sunset the streets and lanes of a brothel quarter become filled with men in search of pleasure The air is filled with perfumes There is a great demand for flowers and garlands of *bela* and jasmine have a brisk sale The night deepens and the whole city falls asleep excepting the brothel area

Sometimes several friends visit a prostitute on co-operative basis Say a fee of rupees two is settled for an evening and four friends visit the same woman at the same time. The visit costs each of them annas eight only.

Customs among the Prostitutes—

The *bariwalli* (brothel keeper) though in most cases merely the lessee of the house, is called 'mother' by her tennants.

In some cases the girl is the daughter, or adopted daughter of the brothel keeper, who has brought her up from childhood and plays the mother to her.

Caste Distinction—

A prostitute is an outcaste ; but it is rather curious that some of these women observe caste distinction in the matter of inter-dining amongst themselves. A woman who entertains even a man of the lowest caste or a Muhammedan would think it below her dignity to eat with a woman of lower caste than her !

Religion—

It is curious that prostitutes worship God and visit temples and even go on pilgrimage. In Calcutta these women may be seen taking their bath in the Ganges early in the morning

through the belief that the water not only purifies the body but also the soul !

Sarasvati the Goddess of learning and fine arts and *Kartik* the god of chivalry are the favourite deities of these women and they are worshipped with great pomp Frequently there is much rivalry among the prostitutes and their paramours over the celebration of these *pujas* and processions in honour of the images.

The worship of a prostitute is attended with pomp and splendour but lack in sincerity and spiritual character

Mock Ceremony of Marriage—

Daughters of prostitutes are sometimes given in marriage with sons of women of same trade. In most of these cases such marriages are merely formal and the girl immediately starts her life as a public prostitute. The marriage is merely a cloak to bluff the police Rarely a penitent woman who does not like the idea of her daughter living a life of shame would arrange a real marriage with a young man

In some cases the marriage ceremony is only a sham and the bridegroom is merely an emblem e g a dagger or a flower plant When the daughter or adopted daughter of a prostitute attains puberty a mock ceremony of this nature is held prior to her initiation into the trade

The man who gets the privilege of enjoying a virgin girl has to pay a high premium.

Gambling—

There are some brothels in which gambling goes on in secret The visitors play for money and the *barwallis* make good profit out of this nefarious business

Some of the prostitutes have a mania for gambling and visit race course. On race days many prostitutes may be seen visiting the course with their paramours

The *vains* and high class courtesans take great care of their health and retain their beauty and charms for a long time. While the brothel women who have to lead an irregular life full of vicissitudes soon lose their health

A public woman residing in a house of prostitution for a few years bears evident marks of approaching decay

Sleepless nights debauchery and drinking play a heavy toll on the health of these unfortunate women

Diseases Common Among Public Women

Venereal Diseases—

Veneral disease is the commonest malady of a public woman. She has to submit to indiscriminate sexual acts every night with men of whom she knows nothing about. She thus runs the risk of infection every time she cohabits with a man if not already suffering from the disease.

A *vain* or courtesan of the higher grade takes sufficient care for prevention of infection and when attacked with the disease makes arrangement for treatment. But the brothel women are generally too poor to afford the costly treatment and will not place themselves under medical treatment unless they are com pelled They ply their trade until their disease

assumes a character that prevents the possibility of farther concealment from their visitors. Even then they take treatment so long as the external signs do not disappear. These half-treated women are not only a source of infection to their customers but are also liable to suffer from the after effects of the disease.

The simple and indurated chancres are frequently seen, while phagedoenic chancre is rare.

The manifestations of secondary syphilis are usually seen in from four to eight weeks after the first appearance of the chancre A rash on the body, ulcers etc. appear in due course and force the woman to go to a physician for treatment.

At least ninety per cent of untreated syphilitic women continue throughout their middle and old age to be from time to time troubled by gummatous lesions; but most of them live to a fair age and usually die from an intercurrent disease. Locomotor ataxia and general paralysis of the insane are extremely rare in India.

Gonorrhoea is also very common. In women the gonococcus causes urethritis, vaginitis and cervicitis, but the symptoms may be so indefinite that the patient may not realize that she is suffering from a disease. In a severe case there

is some enlargement of the glands in the inguinal region and the labia majora and minora are swollen by the purulent discharge. Infection of Bartholin s glands usually results in the for mation of an acute abscess Infection of the rectum may occur especially in cases of sodomy

If the gonorrhoeal infection spreads into the internal organs of generation the Fallopian tubes may be affected giving rise to severe pain in the lower part of the abdomen

Sterility—

Very few of the prostitutes have children, though cases of pregnancy of women living in a state of open prostitution are not rare

Sterility of these women during prostitution may be due to—

(i) Venereal disease
(ii) Wild and irregular life
and (iii) Promiscuous intercourse

Abortions are also frequently practised by these women sometimes with serious results

Delirium tremens—

Delirium tremens is the result of an excessive use of intoxicating liquors and is only rarely found among old prostitutes of the lowest class

Most of the mortal diseases of the brothel girls and street walkers are incidental to their

course of life. Irregular life, exposure to the weather, sleepless nights, constant excitement and debauchery, excessive drinking and alternate extremes of want and luxury induce phthisis, gastric derangements, rheumatism, and other chronic diseases.

Low class brothel women become old at forty and do not live long as is to be expected from such a vicious life.

Drug Habit

Drinking—

In India drinking is an exception among the respectable people. The Indian prostitutes drink like their European sisters, but to a less degree. A prostitute who does not drink will have very few patrons and she has to take part in the drunken revelries of her visitors. Drinking is an additional attraction for the men who frequent brothels

Men are frequently hauled up before Police Magistrates for drunken and disorderly conduct, but women are rarely accused for these offences. These women drink in their own houses and never have occasion to go out in a drunken condition, and hence there is no chance of their arrest by the police.

Sleepless nights and sexual excesses cause great strain on the health of these women and no girl can lead the life they do without wine.

The various wines whisky rum gin champagne etc. taken by these women are not genuine articles They are generally raw spirits with suitable colour and flavouring matter and have nothing in common with the various well known brands of liquers except perhaps the name. These wines are injurious to health and drinking of such poisonous stuff combined with unrestricted debauchery play havoc on the health of these women and lead them to a premature death

Smoking—

No Bengalee lady ever smokes though the habit of smoking *hookah* is common among the Marwari and other up country women

The Bengali prostitutes smoke and a public woman is recognised from her smoking a cigarette.

Cocaine—

Cocaine is sometimes taken by low class up-country prostitutes but such cases are very rare.

Opium—

Old prostitutes take opium which is supposed to be a panacea for all the ills of old age.

THE FUTURE OF A PROSTITUTE

The life of a prostitute is not so happy as it appears from outside. Her smile and cheerfulness are her stocks in trade No one will care for a grave woman , and she has therefore to put on smile even when she is suffering from some disease.

The following description taken from *Garur Purana,* an ancient Sanskrit work, is as true to day as it was in the time of the author—"The sleep of prostitutes is dependant on others, their work is to follow other's mind , even if there be any sorrow at heart they conceal it by smile and various anxieties are present in the mind of the prostitutes. At last some of them are throttled to death." (Garur Purana, 114 12)

The fortune of a public woman varies and there are many ups and downs in her life. The description of the fortunes of a prostitute of New York city given by Sanger is equally true of their prototypes in Calcutta "To night you may see her glittering at one of the fashionable resorts in the lower part of the city. To day she may associate with the wealthy of the land ; to-

morrow none will be too low for her company To day she has servants to do her bidding ; to-morrow she may be buried in a pauper s coffin and a nameless grave

Youth and beauty do not last long and with the decrease of her personal charms and power of attraction a public woman finds her income gradually falling

The career of a public woman is a short one. At forty a prostitute would be considered an old woman If she had saved money which is very rare, she might comfortably retire and spend her days in visiting sacred places and doing good works so that she might be forgiven for her past sins Some of these women bequeathe their wealth to their preceptor or to some temple to avoid hell after death !

Once a prostitute always a prostitute was the rule among the Hindus This attitude has to a certain extent changed in recent years especially in the case of women who were abducted from their home or slipped from the path of virtue through weakness but there is still no room in the society for a prostitute hardened in her profession or the daughter of a public woman

Muhammedan prostitutes can easily change their lives and go back to their families.

Rarely a prostitute contracts marriage with

some Muhommedan. No Hindu would ever think of a marriage with a harlot, but such a marriage is tolerated by the Muhammedan society

The prostitutes generally live for the day, never letting the dregs of the future spoil their merriment They generally spend the whole of their income without a thought of the morrow. After a few years of gay life and luxury there is inevitably a swift fall.

It falls however to the lot of very few prostitutes to win such luxury. Most of them live from hand to mouth, always in debt and hardly able to pay even the rent. The future of these women is very gloomy

When their beauty is faded they have certain positions left for them. If there be enough charms to attract a poor drunken sailor or villager, she might still carry on her trade.

If a woman is clever she rents a house and becomes a *barwalli* or brothel mistress A *barwalli* is generally a retired prostitute with more cunning than most members of her profession. A prostitute who is fortunate enough to have a daughter may live comfortably for the rest of her life on the earnings of the latter. Some prostitutes also adopt minor girls as an insurance against bad days,

When a prostitute becomes old and her charms are entirely lost and no hope remains of earning a living from their sale she becomes a cook or maid servant of her younger sisters still in their prime of life or acts as a procuress

Some of them take up the profession of *panwalli* (betelnut seller) which requires very little capital

If everything fails they have to beg in the streets

The End—

A prostitute is an outcaste. Even the leaders of society visit and caress her with warm embrace and kisses but still she is not recognised in open society When she dies there is nobody to mourn her loss—except perhaps one or two of her woman friends

The funeral procession of a prostitute is a strange sight The bier is generally carried by women inmates of the brothel where the unfortunate woman lived and died There is no gravity usually associated with a funeral procession The women, mostly drunken make noise and even cut obscene jokes

TRAFFIC IN FOREIGN WOMEN

TRAFFIC IN FOREIGN WOMEN

Causes of Demand of Foreign Women

1. Unsatisfactory sex ratio among foreign residents—

The number of women among the residents of foreign nationalities in India is very small in comparison with men. Many of the foreigners come without women and do not usually settle permanently in India.

The total number of *Europeans* in the 1921 census was 156,637 of whom about 45,000 were women. In Bombay there were about 9,000 Europeans of whom only 3,000 were women

The census figures (1931) of Europeans in Bengal are now available

In Bengal—

Total number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians	..	50,603
Males	28,674	
Females	21,929	

In Calcutta—

Total number ...	..	32,850
Males	18,271	
Females	14,579	

The surplus of men over women among the European residents and the presence of about 60 000 British soldiers forced to a life of celibacy are responsible for import of European women in India The European women are no doubt sometimes costly to ordinary Tommies but the officers can afford the luxury

The demand for European and American prostitutes is decreasing partly in consequence of better opportunities for family life for Westerns in the East and the change in social atmosphere following the increase in marriages A second reason, where this influence is not effective, is the tendency to replace the prostitutes from the Occident by an *ever increasing number of recruited women of mixed Asiatic and European blood*

The *Chinese* number abou 2.500 in Calcutta, and 400 in Bombay and there are very few women among them. There is however no Chinese brothel in Calcutta though there is demand for mistresses Burma has direct relations with China and the Chinese populations of this province amounts to about 150 000 with a sex ratio of two men to one woman. A potential demand for Chinese prostitutes may be expected in a community so composed and there is a large number of clandestine Chinese prostitutes

The *Japanese* residents in India do not number more than 1,000 women and children included. There are about 250 Japanese in Calcutta and 500 in Bombay Presidency. A demand for Japanese prostitutes exists among the Japanese residents and sailors

There are colonies of *Jews* in Calcutta and Bombay In Calcutta the Jews number 1,849 of whom 951 are males and 898 females Demand for Jewish prostitutes does not exist among these men Jewish prostitutes and mistresses are patronised by rich Indians.

The *Persians* number about 5,000 in Bombay, where there are Persian prostitutes. These women are however mostly patronised by Indians

2. Demand for foreign prostitutes among the Indians .—

There is some demand for European, especially French girls, among rich Indians. The Jewish prostitutes are also preferred by them as mistresses.

Many native princes have European girls as mistresses.

FOREIGN PROSTITUTES FOUND IN INDIA

Calcutta and Bombay are cosmopolitan towns with large foreign colonies It is therefore natural that some of the foreign prostitutes are drawn from the foreign residents

Anglo Indians—

There are large number of Anglo-Indian prostitutes in Indian cities They are halfcastes and are the offsprings of European residents and their Indian maid servants mostly low class Muhammedans and Christians as Hindu women never work in European families

In Calcutta there are 86 Anglo-Indian prostitutes living in brothels in Kareya and Bowbazar This number however does not give the actual figure for Anglo-Indian prostitutes as the greater part of the women practise their trade more or less clandestinely with the help of Muhammedan pimps Many of them work in offices as shop girls or typists but the wages being low they take to prostitution to add to their income

In Madras city the census returns show only two Anglo-Indian prostitutes but the police estimate their number as more than a hundred

In Rangoon there are many Anglo-Indian girls who practise prostitution.

Goanese Prostitutes—

In Bombay there are a large number of Goanese prostitutes. These girls are of mixed Indian-Portuguese origin and come to Bombay from Goa, a Portuguese territory. They are therefore foreigners in British India.

According to the League of Nation's report, many such girls were brought to Bombay for immoral purposes at from 15 to 17 years of age by their male relatives, who rarely had any other occupation than to be procurers and live on the earnings of the girls.

In the census returns of 1921 the number of Goanese prostitutes was 510 out of 2,995 public women. The Goanese prostitutes still form a large part of public women in Bombay.

European Prostitutes—

Among the European prostitutes there are English women, French women, Russians, Italians, Greeks and Austrians.

The following numbers of European prostitutes were found in brothels.

Calcutta ;	41
French	25
Russians	10

Italian	1
Greek	1
Austrian	1
Other nationality	3
Madras :	4
French	2
Italian	1
Other nationality	1

Most of the European prostitutes are French women and Russians.

In Calcutta the number of European prostitutes is larger than that given in the census returns. The number of women living in known brothels is only 45 but there are many European girls mostly French ex prostitutes living as mistresses of Europeans and Indian nobles The number of European prostitutes increases every year in the winter when touring theatrical and opera parties from Europe or America visit the city The dancing girls and artistes attached to some of these parties play a lucrative trade during their short visits.

In Madras city there are only four European prostitutes all of them living in a brothel kept by a French woman who had been in Madras for twenty years The women are young and their ages were from 25 to 28 years There is little demand for these women in the city owing to the small number of European residents

In Bombay City—

In Bombay city there are about 20 European prostitutes openly carrying on their trade. There are also a large number of women who live as mistresses or practise prostitution under the garb of some honest work. Some of the shop girls, manicurists and telephone girls belong to this class.

In Rangoon—

Before suppression of brothels, there was one block of a street where practically all the European prostitutes lived in brothels kept by European women. The number of European women were however never very large and did not exceed 15 or 16 at any time. The European colony in Rangoon is small and the prostitutes cannot expect good number of customers there. So the women did not stay there long and generally migrated to some other city in search of better fields.

Jewess Prostitutes—

Jewish girls with their Eastern type of beauty are great favourites of Indians who can afford to pay for them.

In Calcutta the census returns show only one Jewess from Iraq living in a brothel ; but the number of clandestine prostitutes and mistresses of this race is very large. There is a large number

of such women at Bowbazar Some of the Jewish girls are very beautiful but they tend to become fatty after thirty In Bombay city there are seventy five Jewess prostitutes from Irak living very much in the same way as their Indian sisters

Persian Prostitutes—

There are some Persian prostitutes in Bombay city two in Karachi and Calcutta Some of these women are good dancers and are in great demand

Arab Prostitutes—

In Calcutta there are two Arab prostitutes while in Karachi there are half a dozen women from Baghdad

Egyptian Prostitutes—

In Calcutta there is one Egyptian prostitute who lives in European style

Japanese Prostitutes—

The number of Japanese prostitutes in Calcutta is large in comparison with the very small colony of Japanese in this city There are now about 34 Japanese prostitutes at Watgunj aged between 20 to 40 There are no geishas or entertainers

In Madras city there is at present no Japanese prostitute. About ten years ago there were

a few of them, but as there was practically no demand, they left of their own accord.

In Bombay city, there are 19 Japanese prostitutes all living in a special quarter. Their ages are between 20 and 40 years Besides these there are 3 geisha and 4 waitresses living in the same quarter, but they are believed not to practise prostitution.

In Karachi, there are only two Japanese prostitutes

In Rangoon, there were many Japanese brothels. The Japanese prostitutes living in these houses of ill fame received clients of various nationalities.

Chinese Prostitutes—

In Calcutta there is no Chinese brothel ; but a number of Chinese women are known to practise clandestine prostitution with men of their own race. Many of them live as mistresses,

In Bombay, there are about 30 Chinese prostitutes.

CLIENTS OF FOREIGN PROSTITUTES

There is a great demand for Jewish and Georgian girls who attract rich Indians as they are not only fair but also conform to the Eastern standard of beauty

The westernised young men and rich Muhammedans prefer Anglo-Indian prostitutes. These women are also patronised by the European residents in this country

The women of the Mongolian races like Chinese or Japanese are not attractive in the eyes of the Indians and there is no demand for them

There are colonies of Japanese girls especially at Khiderpur in Calcutta near the Dock but their clients are mainly drawn from the Japanese sailors visiting the city

There is also no demand for Chinese women among the Indian youths and Chinese brothels are rare. Large number of Chinese victims of the international traffic in women are found in Calcutta but they are mostly in the keeping of the Chinese settlers or practise prostitution with the men of their own race. Thousands of Chinese

women and girls over sixteen leave Hongkong every year on emigrant ships alone and unaccompanied. Going to find 'relatives' and 'servants' are categories simply disguising the real truth. Some of these women come to India—especially to Rangoon and Calcutta where there are colonies of Chinese

HOW THE FOREIGN PROSTITUTES CARRY ON THEIR TRADE

(1) *Inmates of Brothels*—

A certain number of European prostitutes live in brothels. There are 45 such women living in brothels in Calcutta and only four in Madras city.

The Japanese prostitutes also live in brothels.

(2) *Entertaining*—

Prostitution is often carried on in combination with entertainment.

The prostitutes belonging to this class are accomplished dancers and singers.

The European cabaret girls of touring opera parties and Anglo-Indian women playing in Parsi Theatres with Indian prostitutes belong to this class. Most of these women live outside the brothel area in private rooms and sometimes in hotels.

The *Persian* dancing girls live in private rooms with their relatives who live on the earnings of their life of shame. These dancing girls are in great demand in garden parties and celebrations. Performances are also given in the dwellings of the women.

In Rangoon, *Anglo Indian* girls living with their families or with other such girls in a flat send cards to Europeans inviting them to spend an evening at their dwelling where entertainment, such as dancing and music, is arranged Many of the Anglo-Indian girls have some occupation, but increase their earnings in this way

(*3*) *Clandestine Prostitution*—

The greater part of the European and Anglo-Indian prostitutes in India practise their trade more or less clandestinely. Many of them have some employment and maintain an outward show of respectability. The exorbitant demands of European prostitutes put them out of reach of any but those in affluent positions. Sometimes these girls move round from one place to the other in search of better fields If opportunity arises they settle down as the mistresses of rich men.

Many Anglo-Indian and European girls work as attendents in Turkish baths. Almost all of them are prostitutes and carry on prostitution in these places.

The *Chinese* waitresses in Chinese hotels, restaurants and cafes in Rangoon are believed to carry on prostitution. There are about 150 such women in the city.

TRAFFIC IN FOREIGN WOMEN

Types Of Foreign Girls Recruited

Prostitutes—

Most of the foreign women imported in India were undoubtedly prostitutes in their own country They have come here in the hope of making more money

Artistes—

Artistes and professional dancing partners are in danger of becoming victims of traffickers.

Foreign opera and circus parties frequently visit the cities in India in the course of their tours These girls are very poorly paid and generally go out with men after closing hours in order to supplement their pay

If one of such tours becomes a financial failure, the girls are stranded In such cases they have no other alternative but to enter some local brothel

A girl often leaves her party to live in India

The inexperienced girls—

An honest girl of a poor family may be in duced to come to India through false offer of marriage or employment.

Sometimes *Anglo-Indian* girls married to English soldiers are deserted when the soldiers leave India, and are forced to lead the life of a prostitute.

Countries from Where Girls are Imported

Indian women are rarely sent out of India, while women are imported from Europe, Egypt, Persia, Japan, China and many other countries.

Very few oriental women are known to go to Western (occidental) countries for purposes of prostitution, but there is a movement of Western women to the Orient for that purpose

With certain exceptions, to be found in the Mediterranean Near East where conditions of prostitution more nearly approach those of Europe, *prostitutes going to foreign countries do so in search of clients among their own countrymen abroad* Japanese women are taken to be offered to men of their own race, prostitutes from China are sent to centres of Chinese immigration in India and so on

The report of the League of Nations states that "the European prostitutes go to foreign countries *exclusively* in search of clients among their

own countrymen abroad' and that the Japanese prostitutes have relations *only* with Japanese. This is however true only to a certain extent. European prostitutes accept clients of any nationality provided the men are able to pay The same is true of the Japanese prostitutes of Calcutta who are also patronised by Europeans and Muhammedans.

How the Women are Imported from Abroad

European Women—

The European women who come to India for immoral purposes generally come voluntarily

In some cases however travelling expenses of the women are advanced by the keeper of the brothel or by some male trafficker

The close relations of traffickers and souteneurs are illustrated by the following informations supplied to the League of Nations Enquiry Committee by the Indian authorities concerning men and women deported fron British India

Case I—

Following the receipt of an information that men engaged in white slave traffic had arrived in Calcutta, the police made investigations and in the course of these investigations they discovered

two men, E. F, and L H, G.. living in F. S. Street.

(a) E. F.—

At the time the police visited the house, they found there a registered prostitute, M, F. E. F, said that M. F. was his wife and they were leaving for Bombay. As both had valid passports, they were allowed to leave. Subsequently it was learned that, after reaching Bombay, E F. and his wife had gone to Madras and Colombo.

(b) L. H G.—

L. H, G , born in Canada, had a Canadian passport On his passport he was described as a tailor, He told the police that he had come to India to buy wild animals for the Singapore Zoo and showed a receipt for one leopard which he had bought but which died a few days after purchase The police took charge of his passport pending further enquiries. He left Calcutta secretly without his passport and it was believed that he went first to Chandernagore (French India) , It was later learned that he had gone to Bombay, where he visited L B., a French-Canadian registered prostitute, who warned him that the police were enquiring about him,

On the same day L. H. G. left Bombay, and it was thought he would go to Pondicherry

(French India) in order to obtain a fresh passport.

The French Consul at Calcutta was requested to inform the authorities of the various French possessions in India about L H G It has been found by the Calcutta police that L. H G arrived in Calcutta at the same time as the prostitute L B and it is believed that he had lived on her earnings

(c) C G —

C G in possession of a French passport, stated when questioned that he had come to Calcutta because a registered prostitute L P had cabled to him asking him to come L.P denied this The Calcutta police were satisfied that C G was living on the earnings of L P and recommended that both should be ordered to leave India

(d) J P A —

J P A was arrested at the same time as C G He declared that his wife J A had run away from him and come to India J A had arrived in Calcutta a week before J P A and had registered as a prostitute Enquiries were made, but it was not shown that J P A had been living on his wife s earnings He had in his possession about pound 2 000 His association with persons engaged in white slave traffic was

established and his presence in India with such a large sum of money tended to show that he was closely connected with the organisation of that traffic. He was therefore ordered to leave India with his wife J. A. The statement made by J. A, when applying for registration as a prostitute was as follows :

"I was born in France in 1905. I have no parents living. About five years ago I started to lead an immoral life. After three years in a brothel in Paris I went to Saigon and from there to Manila. Then I went to Singapore, and in 1929 I returned to Paris because I was pregnant. My child was born there and is at present with my sister. I returned to the brothel in Paris and there found J. V whom I had known before. I told her I was going to Calcutta to meet Y. B., and when she asked me to take her with me to Calcutta I agreed. I had been in the same brothel in Manila with Y. B."

In regard to J A. and Y. B. a letter from the Commissioner of Police at Calcutta stated ; "Information has been obtained that these two women have been brought to Calcutta by white slave traffickers. It is stated that their passports were made by crooks at Nice. Y. B. is believed to have a procurer or pimp in Paris."

(French India) in order to obtain a fresh passport.

The French Consul at Calcutta was requested to inform the authorities of the various French possessions in India about L H G It has been found by the Calcutta police that L. H G arrived in Calcutta at the same time as the prostitute L B and it is believed that he had lived on her earnings

(c) C. G —

C G in possession of a French passport stated when questioned that he had come to Calcutta because a registered prostitute L P had cabled to him asking him to come L P denied this The Calcutta police were satisfied that C G was living on the earnings of L P and recommended that both should be ordered to leave India

(d) J P A —

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Case 2—

A case, information about which came to the notice of the Commission in two of the countries visited, would seem to indicate that traffickers escaped conviction in one country because the authorities there were ignorant of action taken by the authorities in the other

An Algerian French subject had arrived in Bombay in March 1927 with two French girls, who after three days entered a brothel. The man left for Paris The Police found on investigation that the two girls had been taken by the man together with four other girls from Paris as dancers, though they had no proper training to Baghdad and Teheran, where business turned out to be bad The four other girls had gone to Bushire from Teheran In April 1927 an Italian arrived in Bombay from the Persian Gulf and applied to the Police for a permit to open a cabaret with these six girls stating that he was a partner of the Algerian and that they had started the troupe of dancing girls together Before any action in respect of his application could be taken the Italian left for Calcutta, where the four girls who had gone to Bushire joined him via Karachi

The Italian and a French male dancer belonging to the same troupe were arrested but as there was not sufficient evidence that the girls had been

brought abroad to carry on the business of prostitution, they were acquitted. The two men and the girls were deported to Bangkok. (1)

Case 3—

Cases of girls procured in the Seychelles and brought to Bombay by or for a trafficker known as Mme. L. on various pretext were related by these girls to social workers as follows.

V. L. aged 25, came to Bombay from Seychelles in 1929, Had previously been earning money by clandestine prostitution. She was met on landing by Mme. L. who took her to a hotel. There she paid Rs. 2 to the hotel and Rs, 2 to Mme. L. After a few days she went to Mme. L.'s house. She had no suspicion of Mme. L.'s occupation before she left Seychelles, but Mme L. told her before she left the hotel and she went to Mme. L.'s house of her own free will.

L. P., aged 21 or 22, travelled to Bombay with the above V, L. She had previously been visiting a brothel in the Seychelles.

Mrs. F. P. came to Bombay early in 1930 on the suggestion of Mme. L.'s sister who said that Mme. L, had a dressmaking shop in Bombay and wanted girls to work for her. Mme. L.'s sister paid travelling expenses, Mrs. F. P. was met in

(1) Rep. League of Nations.

Goa by Mme. L. and was taken by her to the brothel in Bombay Mrs F P stayed at the brothel for two months during which time Mme L treated her badly and kept her money

A. E came from Seychelles with Mrs F P and went to another brothel

H V sister of Mrs. F P six months pregnant, came from the Seychelles on the same boat as Mme L. and went to Mme L s brothel Later Mme L handed H V to the League of Mercy, who arranged for her to go to a home Afterwards she joined her sister Mrs. F P who was then in the brothel area in Calcutta A social worker got into touch with her and sent her to a home, but her sister persuaded her to go to Madras where she was registered as a prostitute. Later she returned to Calcutta and went to the brothel quarter there (1)

Iraqi Prostitutes in India—

A certain number of Iraqi women were stated to be engaged in prostitution in British India —viz. about seventy five in Bombay and a few in Karachi and Calcutta. A considerable proportion of them was believed to be Baghdad Jewesses. Their number iss aid to be decreasing on account of the great difficulties which the Iraqi Government puts in the way ofd epartures by

(1) Rep. League of Nations

its nationals who cannot prove that the object of the intended journey is both legitimate and necessary.

While it was considered by the authorities in *Iraq* that the Iraqi prostitutes in India were of a type which would not be likely to allow themselves to be exploited by traffickers, the Indian authorities believed, and had in some cases proof, that exploitation did occur

Some of the Iraqi Jewesses in India, particularly in Calcutta, were stated to cater for European clients, residing with European prostitutes and dressing as such.

Deportation cases from Bombay to Iraq included a prostitute who had been taken to India by a trafficker. Details are as follows :

An Iraqi woman was deported for carrying on prostitution in Bombay. She had been brought to Bombay by a well-known procurer, who also secured a passport for the journey to Bombay for her. As her certificate of identity expired on September 24th, 1926, she was instructed to leave India within a week, but she took no steps to do so, and, in order to avoid deportation, proposed to marry locally. She was therefore deported

Traffic in Syrian women—

A Syrian, native of Halsh, was convicted in

January 1927 under the Prostitution Act of 1923 and after serving a sentence of four months rigorous imprisonment, was deported to Iraq He had come to Bombay from Karachi and had resided there for thirteen years He was found to have no regular means of subsistence and to be a pimp The man claimed Iraqi nationality though he was born in Syria (1)

Traffic in Chinese Women—

Prostitutes of Chinese race are found in greater or fewer numbers in all territories of the Far East south of China in the middle East and as *far west as British India* New ideas and new legislation are tending to give girls a more nearly equal status with boys in China, but these factors have not yet produced much change in the spirit of the people. Old conceptions prevail and daughters are regarded as of little value or importance compared with sons The *female child* is always at a disadvantage, and a girl s duty is to concur in any sacrifice necessary to the well being of the family Thus she *may be sold or transferred to others in times of poverty* If she displays no special aptitude she may be *re-sold* by her buyer either *into prostitution* or *for domestic service* Such girls who are really slaves may be cruelly treated or on the other hand may be treated with affection

(1) Rep League of Nations

by the woman who runs the brothel in which they are placed.

Many girls are "unconditionally" sold by their parents, under pressure of poverty. A girl sold is a slave-girl, not even Mui Tsai, and it is a matter of chance what may happen to her.

Some girls are *kidnapped by brigands and sold* into prostitution in lieu of ransom.

The girls can be *pawned to brothel-keepers in payment* of *family debt.* By law, debts arising from such passing of a girl into a brothel is not recognised. But custom is stronger at present than new legislation and all concerned—the person pawning the girl, the brothel-keeper, and the girl herself—consider that she is under obligation to serve until the original amount advanced has been repaid. Even this is often not sufficient and the keepers, like veritable slave-owners, will fix the cash redemption of the girl at the commercial value they choose to put upon her. Often the only possibility of freedom from the clutches of the brothel-keeper is to find a person who will buy her out for marriage.

Chinese emigration is mainly to the Asiatic countries of the South seas. The Chinese play a very important part in the commerce of British

Malayas as labourers tradesmen, leaders of commerce and industry etc. The profits of traffickers would be much less were it not for the better-off element among these emigrants. They would not risk the expense of bringing in girls only for Chinese labourers *The girls are first offered to those who can pay When they have lost their freshness there is always the mass of labourers* to whom they can be offered at cheap rates

The following case taken from the Report of the League of Nations Committee throws much light on the modus operandi of the traffickers In 1928 a social worker in Rangoon was informed that a Chinese girl of about 14 years was being very badly treated in a certain house. An investigation showed that the girl had been severely beaten and burnt Her story was that a Chinese man of prominent standing had sent a woman married to a foreman in his service to China to fetch him a concubine. The woman paid some money to the girl s mother and promised a wealthy husband in Rangoon When the girl arrived the Chinese man found her too ugly and suggested that the foreman should take her as a second wife. This the wife of the foreman would not allow but she kept the girl in her house as a servant and treated her very badly The girl was taken to the Hostel of the Vigi-

lance Society. Her mother was sent for and took the girl back to Canton. The Chinese man who had sent for the girl could not be prosecuted because of insufficient evidence, but he was socially ostracised by the Chinese Community.

MODUS OPERANDI OF TRAFFICKERS

The foreign steamers bring the women into Indian ports The agents and the girls often travel first or second class to avoid stricter inspection which is given to third class than to cabin passengers

The usual practice seems to be to take a girl with one, probably posing as her husband as there are difficulties in the way of a girl travelling alone

If the agent travels with her all suspicion as to their relationship must be avoided and the only way to do this is to pose as husband and wife. It will avoid troublesome officials and also agents of vigilance societies taking an interest n girls travelling alone.

One of the reasons rendering detection of Chinese traffickers in girls of their own race extremely difficult is the fact that no law requiring civil registration existed in China prior to 1929 It therefore was and may still be in many cases quite easy for any person accompanying a victim of traffic to pose as her parent or relative and there is hardly a possibility that the girl herself who is carefully coached

as to what she shall say when questioned by the authorities, will contradict such a claim of relationship. It is, moreover, quite common that the victim, who in a great many cases is a mere child, regards the 'adoptive mother,' who exploits her by prostitution,in the best of faith as having full parental authority over her and is accustomed to address her as 'mother'. (1)

In cases of European prostitutes coming to India most of them arrive with valid passports stating them to be dressmakers, modistes or stating no profession.

False passports are sometimes used. It is very difficult for immigration officers who have to deal with a large number of passengers to decide whether a document purported to be issued by the authorities of another country is genuine or not

Rarely women are smuggled without passports or identification papers with the connivance of the sailors.

In Calcutta there is a ridiculous farcical supervision which works like this :

A *foreign* girl is, on her arrival, brought to the Criminal Investiation Office by a mistress of one of the houses.

These mistresses incidentally, keep in touch

(1) League of Nations' Report

with one another the whole world over exchanging girls arranging terms and acting like the branches of a great export business The police ask whether the girl has already been practising prostitution and the mistress is asked whether she is willing to keep the girl The answers are always Yes

Both women are then taken to a high police officer who asks the girls why she came to Calcutta and if she had been in correspondence with anybody The girl usually says that she has come to earn money and that she had heard of the mistress casually through a friend in Bombay or some other place Only women who say that they have previously been inmates of disreputable establishments are allowed to register and their statements in this respect, are verified.

It has happened that women refused registration have gone to a bad house in another city in the East and then come back to register in Calcutta

Surely here the moral sense of the authorities is still a trifle blunted

ROUTES OF TRAFFIC TO INDIA

With regard to traffic in women to and from India there is evidence of a route from Europe via Egypt to Bombay. During investigation by the League of Nations several instances were reported of agents procuring girls in central Europe and bringing them to Constantinople enroute for Egypt, which is an important centre of the traffic.

European women arrive in Calcutta mostly from Bombay. Some of them come by way of Rangoon and Singapore.

French women are imported in the French colonies in India which are notorious for their brothels and unrestricted sale of wine. The little French town of Chandernagore has more wine shops and prostitutes than many large cities in India.

METHODS OF PROCURING GIRLS

It is easy to induce a prostitute to leave her country for one where more money can be made. A girl of this nature knows that she will be expected to practise prostitution to pay back the money advanced for the journey

Where there are *Occidental women* in the East the majority are victims of the traffic i.e they have been brought in by procurers who make a business of supporting the licensed brothels. In countries where such a transaction is not illegal the system of licensed brothels there provides strong incentives for the usual chain of middlemen such as touts souteneurs and procurers to promote business.

Young girls with a taste for the stage run the risk of being exploited for purposes of prostitution in a foreign country The low wages paid and the whole environment are such as to make it difficult for a girl to avoid a life of shame

Offer of employment is a method of securing girls for purposes of prostitution. The girls are given to understand that they will find a good and remunerative employment in some office or

in the family of a rich man. The offer of marriage with an European in India, supposed to be rich and respectable, is also a good bait.

There was at one time a certain traffic in women of mixed African and European blood from the Seychelles to India. A woman trafficker used the bait of a good position in a dressmaking establishment at Bombay to obtain inmates for her brothel in that town.

Sometimes the souteneur (*dalal*) marries an inexperienced girl and brings her to India. Such marriages are generally bogus.

The cynical role of the Occidental souteneur and trafficker exploiting his victim in Oriental surroundings is illustrated by a former practice in Rangoon when brothels were allowed. The police discovered that men, who had brought European women to the town and placed them in brothels, themselves lived in first class hotels, going, every morning to India to collect the money earned by the women. The *prohibition* of *brothels in Rangoon* put an end to this trade.

DESCRIPTION OF A FOREIGN BROTHEL

A brothel in the European quarter of an Indian city contains French English Jew Armenian and Anglo Indian girls with scattered representatives from other countries

Mode of Securing Clients—

The European prostitutes generally carry on their trade through *dalals* Men—generally Muhammedans—stand on the street to hand soldiers and foreigners the addresses of these women There are also guides who walk in the evening upon the public gardens frequented by European youths and rich Indians Frequently drivers of phaetons work as *dalals* and empty phaetons may be found in the evening near the hotels in the European quarter of Calcutta

Some of the girls frequent the boulevards in the evening in search of their prey Eden Gardens and Curzon Park in the Maidan of Calcutta are their favourite resorts It is easy to differentiate such girls from respectable women by their gaudy dress heavily powdered face and above all by their behaviour

The low class European prostitutes of Kareya and Watgunge in Calcutta sometimes stand in

the streets and openly solicit passers-by in European dress. The brothels of Watgunge are generally patronised by European sailors and low class Muhammedans. The Japanese brothels draw their clients mainly from Japanese and Chinese sailors.

Some of the girls working as shop girls, lady typists or telephone girls etc., also add to their income by prostituting at night. They also walk upon the promenades in the evening and employ *dalals*. When a man is captured, there is almost always a dinner in a hotel followed by a joy ride in a motor car. The car is usually taken to an out of the way place and the man and woman enjoy themselves in the car. The driver in the meantime acts as a watch. A few years ago many a couple were caught in the Maidan in Calcutta by the police sergeants in naked conditions in their cars.

INDIAN WOMEN AS VICTIMS OF INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC

(1) *In British Malaya—*

There are a few Indian prostitutes in Malaya who reached there in current of the existing considerable Indian emigration to that country

The emigrants are mostly Tamils Telegus and Malayalese from the Madras Presidency who go to Malaya for labour on plantations chiefly rubber plantations

Total number of Indians	642 009
Males	421 028
Females	202 981
Sex ratio	502

The Indian population in Malaya consists of—

	Population	Sex ratio
Tamils	514,959	515
Telegus	32 541	717
Malayalese	35 125	210
Punjabis	31 001	
Others	28,383	

"The tendency among the South Indian emigrants who leave their villages has been to go abroad without their families for whom they send home maintenance out of their earnings

With a view to improving their conditions of life on the plantations, the authorities of Malaya and of India insist on a given proportion of females to males amongst the "assisted immigrants." The present rule is that, in every five assisted immigrants to Malaya, there shall not be more than one man without a wife—that is, for two married couples there may be one single man or a married man who is not accompanied by his wife. The increased possibilities for family life have had such a healthy effect on living conditions of these labourers that any demand for prostitutes that may formerly have existed among them may be said to have practically disappeared. It was even considered by officials that Indian workers on plantations would now, in most cases, object to prostitution being practised in their midst, and the guilty parties would be expelled from the estates. The isolated cases of Tamil prostitutes in Malaya are to be found chiefly in the large towns, where, at least before the abolition of brothels, a certain number of Tamil prostitutes existed."

(2) *In Ceylon*—

"Indian labourers from the Madras Presidency are also employed on estates in Ceylon. Supervision is exercised over them on departure from India as well as on arrival in Ceylon by special

officials and women are not allowed to go with the labour transports unless they are accompanying husbands or relations.

A large number of Sikhs Indians with inclinations towards more soldierly occupations are employed all over the Far East as watchmen and policemen other Indians are to be found in many cities of the Far East competing with the Chinese for the retail trade. Neither of these two classes seems to represent a demand for Indian prostitutes

In the island of Seychelles there are 503 Indians of whom 398 are males and only 105 are females but there is no Indian prostitute there.

CONTROL OF PROSTITUTION

SOCIAL REFORMS

A Plea for Taking Abducted and Seduced Girls into Society

The public ill will against fallen women is in one sense a very effective bulwark of public morals, but constitutes, in another direction almost an insuperable barrier for any return to decent living from those who once slip from the path of virtue. A change in public sentiment in favour of a more kindly and generous measurement of values will prove to be a very valuable lever for reform in this direction.

(*a*) *Cases of Abducted Girls*—

Most of the poor women who are abducted, even if by force, are not generally given any opportunity to come back to society and live as respectable women. The unfortunate girls hounded out from the society, have no other alternative but to join the bands of prostitutes for their livelihood.

The majority of women especially of the lower castes, are illiterate and do not know any cottage industry and are forced to a life of prostitution, In Muhammedan society however such girls are taken back into society and even marriage with

public prostitutes are common Whereas in Hindu society even a woman of faultless character abducted and raped against her will is treated as a pariah.

(We are glad to note however that the Hindu society is now alive to this problem and many women forcibly abducted or raped even by Muhammedans have been taken back by their parents and relatives. It is a move in the right direction

(*b*) *Girls seduced from their home and abandoned*—

Young girls and widows sometimes yield their honour to their lovers importunities and leave their home and loving relatives with the men whom they adore. It is too late when they awake from the spell that lures them to destruction

The society it is true condemns such conduct on the part of a man but readily forgives him while it is different with a woman. She has no place in society Thus the offender escapes while the victim is punished

The only way to deal with this evil is to create a strong public opinion against this social inequality A man who seduces and ruins the life of a woman ought to be equally treated as an outcaste. A man guilty of such a crime should not be allowed admission into any respectable family circle. In such a case as this a woman is fre-

quently a dupe of the man or victim of her weakness or of misguided love.

Women who slip from the path of virtue through error of judgment are rather subject of pity When the spell of love is gone, she becomes awakened to her helpless position. She knows that the society will have no sympathy for her. The only recourse left for her is to appeal to her parents If the parents take her back, she will get a chance in life , while a refusal means driving her to a life of shame

An opportunity of repentance should be given to a penitent broken hearted girl to retrace her steps and a momentary foolish act should not be allowed to blast her whole future. Physical and mental suffering is sufficient punishment for her.

All are liable to error ; and just as all hope for forgiveness, so should they forgive. It is the duty of the parents and relatives to endeavour to reform her and help her to retrace her steps and thus enable her to become a useful member of the society.

If a woman once errs and is repentant, the lapse should be forgiven. She should be taken back into society only on one condition that she shall sin no more.

REMOVAL OF UNDESIRABLE CUSTOMS

Which are Fruitful Causes of Fall from Virtue

Suppression of Devadasi

The *devadasi* girls were a disgrace to Madras and it is a matter of great satisfaction that the people of the province have awakened to this evil

Formerly families which received grants of land belonging to the temples were under an obligation to dedicate some of their girls to the religious service of temple-dancers. By the Religious Endowments Act, the obligation for the women members of these families to render service for the land was brought to an end

The custom of dedication of girls to the temples however remained A Bill was then passed in the Legislative Council in Madras in March 1930 making such dedication to temples punishable.

The Hindu Government of Travancore also abolished the institution of *devadasi* from all temples in the State. These unfortunate women who were looked down upon as a class of prostitutes have thus been emancipated and have now got the freedom to enter into lawful wedlock with the men of their own liking

MARRIAGE REFORMS

A Hindu girl does not choose her husband, who is selected for her by her family Owing to a surplus of men over women and social customs every Hindu girl gets a chance in the marriage market. There is no old spinster in Hindu society

After marriage a woman is absorbed into her husband's family and her property, if she has any, merges into the general family pool

The older widow, mother of a family of grown-up sons, has a power that the Western woman seldom knows. But the lot of a childless young widow left without sufficient means is sometimes not very happy. The Hindu society has no problem of girls for whom no husband can be found, but the girls who become widows create a difficult social problem.

Prevention of Marriage of Girls with Old Men

Sometimes avaricious parents marry their daughters with rich old men for their own selfish purposes. It is repugnant to think how a father can ruin the happiness of his daughter. Such

marriages are fruitful causes of fall from virtue of women.

The society should not tolerate such a marriage repugnant to the feelings of a young girl.

Suppression of Polygamy

The modern Hindu society does not tolerate polygamy though many princes still have *harems* full of wives—relics of the old barbarous days The middle class and poor people are generally satisfied with one wife though cases of plurality of wives are not very rare

The younger generation of Hindus and Muhammedans view such plurality of wives as a vicious custom. But it has still some supportors In the course of a speech in connection with the Sarda Act in the Legislature Assembly at Delhi Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy the leader of the Muhammedans said—

Islam does not enjoin polygamy but would the Government dare to bring in a bill preventing polygamy amongst Moslems ? (1)

Parents of girls who give a daughter in marriage with a man who has already a wife for their own selfish purposes deserve the severest condemnation

Happily the custom is dying and it is the duty

(1)Statesman, 28th February 1933.

of the society to see that this evil has a speedy burial.

The men who marry more than one woman to satisfy their lust should have no place in a civilised society. We know of several cases where the husband married several girls on the plea of sterility of the previous wives though they themselves were sterile !

As a result of agitation of the Brahmo Samaj, a marriage act was passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the model of the European marriage system ; and Brahmo marriages are performed under this Act. But very few Hindus took advantage of this Act as when marrying under provision of this Act the parties have to declare that they are not Hindus. Recently Sir Hari Sing Gour has rectified this defect in his new Act.

Polyandry

The Census figures for 1931 shows that there are 601, 244 more married males than married women in India. This is strange in view of the large amount of lawful bigamy and polygamy in India.

There are polyandrous communities in several hill areas of the frontiers between Kashmir and Burma. The women of Ladakh who are akin to the Tibetans take more than one husband.

The Nairs who are a small Non Aryan community of Travancore, Malabar and there-abouts in Southern India used to be polyandrous but the custom is now a thing of the past.

In Travancore State, polyandry is however still practised by *Ullatans* and *Malayarayan* tribes.

The Todas of the Nilgiris another uncivilised tribe also have the same custom but there are less than a thousand of them in all They used to kill their female infants after birth As a result of this the number of women became very small and the custom of taking a common wife arose on account of scarcity of girls Each husband lives with his wife for a month and then awaits his turn.

The surplus of husbands over wives shown in the Census Report may probably be explained by the *migration of unaccompanied husbands* from villages where the census taking was neither strict nor complete, to the towns where it was Moreover the large number of men who migrate to Ceylon and Straits Settlement every year leaving their wives at home are not included in the census figures as these countries are outside India

It is not known how far prostitution is prevalent among the women of Ladakh and the Toda tribe among whom polyandry is prevalent.

Prevention of Child Marriage

A consequence of child marriage is a large number of child widows who are forced to live a life of celibacy. All of them however cannot be expected to live up to the high standard of widowhood and chastity demanded of them and cases of seduction of widows are not rare.

Child marriage is equally common among the Muhammedans, but as there is no bar to widow marriage a girl may be married even if her husband dies. So the custom has no terror to them.

In 1891 the Age of Consent Bill was passed, which made co-habitation of a husband with his girl wife under 12 years of age an offence.

But it had no effect on child marriage and the law became a dead letter.

Sarda Act (Child Marriage Restraint Act 1930)—

At the initiative of Mr. Harbilash Sarda an Act popularly known as the Sarda Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly. It was supported by the Congress leader late Pandit Motilal Nehru. The marriageable age of girls was raised to 14 years and of boys to 18 years.

But marriages of girls under 14 are still not uncommon. The Act is also defective, as even

if anyone marries a minor girl he cannot be prosecuted until and unless someone brings a case against him and deposits Rs. 100 in the court as a security Even if a person is found guilty the only punishment is a fine of a few rupees.

This Act is not popular with the orthodox people Recently Haji Wajihuddin brought forward a bill in the Legislative Assembly with the object of excluding Muhammedans from the operation of the Sarda Act. It was supported by the Muhammedan leader Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy though the more advanced Muhammedan councillors like Mr Kabiruddin Ahmed were opposed to this retrograde step

The Sarda Act has removed a dark blot on the social life and any interference with it will lower the prestige of India Marriage is a transaction between grown up people and that it should be thrust upon an infant girl is both unnatural and revolting

Widow Marriage

In the modern Hindu society there is a double code of morality for men and women. A man can marry again after the death of his wife ; while a woman is forced to lead the life of a widow.

Hindu marriage is said to be a bond which cannot be broken by death ; but when a man can break the marriage vows not only after the death of his wife, but also sometimes during her life time, it is not proper to demand from women a standard which men cannot or even will not try to attain.

Divorce and widow marriage no doubt remove from the system of marriage the halo of divinity. When the thought of finality and determination is taken away from the marriage vow, it is robbed of its virtue. Marriage as a bond for life and death should be the ideal of every man and woman ; but there must not be two standards—one for men and the other for the weaker sex.

Men and women are human beings subject to passions ; and it is too much to expect such high standard from everyone. So re-marriage should be allowed under certain circumstances.

The Hindu widow generally lives an ideal life But there are some who cannot live upto this ideal and a slip from the path of virtue sometimes leads them to a life of shame.

As a result of agitation the Widow Marriage Act (Act 15 of 1856)was passed in 1856 through the initiative of late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar The census report of Bengal for the year 1931 proves an increasing prevalence of widow marriage as indicated by a decrease in the proportion of widows in each of these three cities Calcutta Howrah and Dacca

Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce is allowed by the Muhammedan and Christian religions but modern Hindu custom does not tolerate it though recommended by some of the old Hindu lawgivers

Marriage is regarded by a high caste Hindu as a religious institution (vide case of Sundra Bai vs Shiv Narayan Bombay) The High Court of Calcutta decided that Hindu marriage is indissoluble (Tikait Monmohini Vs Basantakumar Calcutta) But Manu and other ancient Hindu lawgivers did not think that such a marriage was indissoluble, as divorce was allowed under certain circumstances. (1)

(1) নষ্টে মৃতে প্রব্রজিতে ক্লীবে চ পতিতৌ পতৌ।
পঞ্চস্বাপৎসু নারীনাং পতিরন্যো বিধীয়তে॥

Parasara allowed remarriage only in five cases viz. where the husband cannot be traced, is dead, has renounced the world, is impotent or is an outcaste.

According to *Vasistha*—"Where a husband belongs to a different race, is an outcaste, impotent, a sinner, has blood-relationship or is suffering from a secret disease. the married girl may be given in marriage again in the life time of her husband."

So divorce was allowed under the following circumstances—

(a) Disappearance of the husband,

(b) Renunciation of the world.—The wife of a *sanyasi* (monk) could marry again.

(c) The wife of an outcaste could leave her husband, who was considered as dead to society. The wife of a man who becomes a Christian or a Muhammedan can marry again under this clause.

(d) Impotence and secret incurable disease. According to *Devala* tuberculosis of husband is a ground for divorce.

(e) According to *Kautilya*, a wife can leave her husband and marry again if he is a man of bad character or where there is risk to the life of the wife at the hands of the husband (3/2/155).

These ancient laws of divorce are now practically dead letter amongst the high class Hindus

Divorce is however allowed among certain castes in the Hindu society It is prevalent among the *Vaishnavas* of Bengal. Marriage or *Kanthi-badal* as it is called by them is a very easy thing and is dissolved as readily Dissolution of marriage is also common among the low class Hindus of Behar U P and other provinces After the death of a husband a widow may live with any man of her choice belonging to the same caste and the only ceremony is the application of red vermillion on the forehead of the bride by the bridegroom It is known as *sanga* (compa nionate) marriage and is dissoluble at the will of the parties. A high caste widow is denied the privileges enjoyed by her sisters of the lower castes

A Bill on Hindu Marriages Dissolution was recently circulated by Mr Raju among the members of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi.

The Bill tried to remove certain doubts regarding the invalidity of certain marriages of persons professing the Hindu religion in certain cases The Bill is given below as it may be of interest :—

1 (a) This Act may be called the Hindu invalidating Act.

(b) It applies to all Hindus and extends to the whole of British India.

2. Notwithstanding any law or custom to the contrary, a Hindu shall be entitled to obtain a declaration that his or her marriage for any of the following reasons is null and void, namely.

(a) In case of wife, that the husband is impotent at the time or before the marriage.

(b) If the wife or the husband is suffering at the time of marriage from

(i) Congenital idiocy

(ii) Ulcerous and incurable leprosy

(iii) Lunacy.

Provided that no marriage shall be declared invalid under this clause if a claim for such a declaration is not made within a year from the date of the marriage and if there is any issue to the marriage living or expected to be born

3. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to restrict the rights of declaring invalidity of marriages otherwise existing,

The word "invalidity" is used instead of "dissolution". Dissolution will not enable remarriage if the custom in that class forbids remarriage whereas invalidity does.

If the marriage is declared invalid, a proper relief is afforded to parties. The Bill does

not thus introduce divorce or dissolution into Hindu sacramental marriages which are held when once legally made indissoluble.

Even in western countries like England impotency occurring in the male after marriage is no ground for divorce Congenital idiocy is substituted for imbecility as the former is known to Law and the latter is incapable of definition Leprosy and lunacy explain themselves They are disabilities only if they exist at the time of marriage in an incurable form If they occur after marriage it is not fair that the victim should be made to lose his partner in life in addition to that calamity

The proviso is drawn to put a time limit. If there is any issue to the marriage, marriage cannot be declared invalid because the issue will be illegitimate and consequently suffer in property rights.

It may be noted that under present law a Hindu wife married even under Brahminical form is entitled to prevent restitution of conjugal rights if the husband is suffering from any of the disabilities

The Indian Divorce Act (Act 4 of 1869) does not apply to a Hindu marriage though persons married under the provisions of the special

Marriage Act. 3 of 1872 may take advantage of this law.

There was an interesting case in which a Hindu girl who wanted to separate from her husband, went through a ceremony of conversion into Muhammedanism. Then she sent a notice to her husband to become a Muhammedan, which he naturally refused. She then brought a case against her husband for restitution of conjugal rights and as the husband refused to take her back, she got divorce. After the divorce, she again became a Hindu by going through the *suddhi* (purification) ceremony and married a Hindu youth under the provisions of the Marriage Act.

The Hindu state of Baroda is more advanced in social reforms and it has already a divorce act which should be a model for British India.

INTERCASTE MARRIAGE

The present day Hindu society does not recognise intercaste marriage.

The Special Marriage Act (Act 3 of 1872) provided for marriage of men and women of any caste and creed ; but those who married under this Act had to declare that they were not Hindu, Muhammedan or Christian. The

marriage of the Brahmos was celebrated under this Act, but the younger generation of the community refused to declare that they were not Hindus and a few intercaste marriages were performed in the orthodox style without going through the legal contract

Then came Dr Gour with his Intercaste Marriage Act Special Marriage Amendment (Act 30 of 1923) which was passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1923 Hindus can now marry among different castes without legally ceasing to be Hindu. But there are still serious defects in this Act. By sections 22 24 and 25 of the Act the Hindu laws of joint family succession, inheritance and adoption do not apply to one who marries under this Act. He and his children will be governed in these matters by the Indian Succession Act. So though the new Act did away with the objectionable declaration the person marrying under it remained only a Hindu in name. The Act should be amended and these defects removed.

The necessity of an intercaste marriage act is felt in cases where a young man of one caste seduces a girl of another caste Sometimes the young man repents and marries the girl under this Act. Such a marriage was not possible before and an abducted or seduced girl had no other alternative but to lead a life of shame.

AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMEN

The *social changes* which are now *taking place in* the so-called unchanging *East* are enormous, and insomuch as they affect the position of women, they undoubtedly form a most powerful agent in the fight against the traffic in human bodies.

"Education will arm parents, guardians and victims against the blandishments of the traffickers and their agents, awaken in the masses of the peoples a sentiment of indignation against the injustice of degradation forced on innocent victims,and by widening the possibilities of useful employment of girls, automatically reduce the number of cases in which a family in distress sees no other way of avoiding starvation than by disposing a daughter in a manner which directly or indirectly, involves prostitution."

The educated women of India have rightly come forward for abolition of the state recognised brothel areas of the Indian cities.

The Hindu women have made progress of several centuries in three or four years. A few years ago it was beyond the dream of the optimistic social workers that the women would

discard the purdah and come out in the open to work hand in hand with husbands and brothers. The movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi has worked miracles at least in this direction.

Thousands of them—many being of good family and high educational attainments—suddenly emerged from the seclusion of their homes and in some instances actually from the purdah, inorder to join Congress demonstrations and assist in picketing " (1)

This growth of nationalism among Indian women may be resented in some quarters ; but one aspect at least, of its development must be praised by all

The women are awakening and are doing their best to clean up the human cesspools in India.

The presence of fallen women is a blot in the name of the fair sex As remarked by Wells— 'They do not minister simply to lust What they sell and give in the bargain is much more than that. It is womanhood." (2) The women should try to uplift their misguided sisters and help those who want to reform themselves ; and thus stamp out the shame of this age old traffic in unfortunate girls

(1) India in 1930-31 Published by the Government of India
( ) Wells H.G : The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind (p. 545)

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Proper Education of Girls

Parents generally neglect the education of their daughters. Formerly girls were married before 12 years and they were too young for lovemaking. Now that the marriage age has been increased, it is the duty of parents to see that their daughters do not pass their time in idle gossip. It should not be forgotten that an idle mind is the seat of vice.

But education does not merely mean attendance at school, It is the moral and religious training received by a girl in her home that shapes her character,

A grown up girl should not be allowed to sleep in the same room with her parents. She may by chance witness sexual act of her parents and such a scene is extremely harmful to the unstable mind of a young girl.

It is not also safe to leave a young unmarried girl with a maidservant. Maidservants are

generally clandestine prostitutes and in many cases corrupt girls.

We are supporters of female education, but we do not like the unmarried young girls mixing freely with young men A grown up woman with sufficient education or a college girl can judge between right and wrong But a girl who has no experience of life and is ignorant of the ways of the world is an easy prey to vicious men. She is too sincere to believe the vows of a young man and may surrender herself to him

Some of the girl schools still have male teachers which is objectionable We do not cast any aspersion on the teachers who are in most cases of exceptional character but it is better not to allow any male teacher or clerk in a girl s school

A lady teacher should accompany the girls when travelling in the school bus There is an instance when the young driver of the school bus of one of the girl schools in Calcutta cut indecent jokes with a girl student who was then alone in the bus Most of the drivers are of low class and are drunkards. It is not safe to leave the girls in charge of such people.

The practice of appointment of young private tutors for girls is also not very safe

Seduction of a woman is generally the end of prolonged love making. It is a gradual process and cannot be the growth of an hour. No girl ever elopes with a mere acquaintance. In an Indian family with the exception of modernised society, a woman gets very little opportunity to mix with outsiders and parents can easily take preventive measures. Parents should see that aquaintance with a young man does not ripen under the influence of tender words spoken secretly. A young girl should not be allowed to remain alone in a room with a young man no matter whether he is her teacher, friend or even a young servant.

The case given below is a good example,

Nana Kani (22), a Tamil Christian hatmaker of Little Sisters' Road was sent up on a charge of having enticed away a girl under 16 years of age from her lawful guardians,

The accused was sent up under Section 365 I. P. C, and tried by the fifth Additional Magistrate of Rangoon.

The prosecution stated that the accused was a boarder in the house of the kidnapped girl Arikam Mary, who lived with her mother in Theatre Road. The girl had become friendly with the accused, This friendship ripened into love. Arikam Mary's love affair was objected to by her family, There was a quarrel on 9th February

resulting in the girl running away to one Namdam s house. Her mother and two others had then come and taken her away to one Mary s house. From this house the girl ran away with the accused at 3 p m the next day They were apprehended the following day after having stayed a night at one Agnes house.

There was no doubt that the girl was a consenting party

The accused pleaded not guilty to the charge and put in as his defence that the girl s mother had connived to his living with the girl as husband and wife. But the accused failed to prove this connivance on the part of the mother

On 7th February the accused had proposed marriage with the girl which proposal was refused by the mother Following this was a quarrel between mother and daughter

There was also evidence showing the accused having had taken the girl to a stranger s house This clearly disclosed the accused s guilt

The accused was sentenced on 28-3 33 to imprisonment and to pay a fine

PROBLEM OF CO-EDUCATION

The whole of the Indian scene has changed since the War and the Gandhi movement with kailedoscopic rapidity and the most remarkable is the sudden emergence of women from behind the purdah.

There is a sudden demand for education of girls and the existing schools and colleges for women are too few in number to accommodate such a large number of candidates. New schools and colleges for girls require large capital expenditure which is not easy to raise in a poor country. But education cannot wait and the difficulty has to be overcome.

The schools for boys hold their classes from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. and someone thought they might be utilised for holding morning schools for girls. There was no establishment charge to be incurred, no rent, no capital expenditure for chairs, tables and boards etc. The teachers are all honorary workers There are several schools of this nature in Calcutta. They have not as yet been recognised by the University, but there is no doubt that some of them will grow in time.

In the muffussil towns however there is scarcity of educated women teachers and several

schools for boys came forward with schemes for co-education They asked for permission from the University to allow girls to be admitted into the same classes of boys The Calcutta University however refused such permission and decided that girls above ten years of age should not be permitted to read in the same schools along with boys The University however has a special regulation for girls which allowed them to appear in University Examinations without having to read in any Schools at all—at matriculation as well as higher degree examinations.

Co-education of girls between 10 and 16 years of age is not proper specially in this country where a girl attains her puberty at a very early age (13 or 14 years) when she is unable to judge for herself what is right and wrong During the age of adolescence boys and girls should be separated and promiscuous associa tion in educational institutions should not be allowed In England boys and girls are educated together until the age of eighteen and this is in deliberate pursuit of an educational belief The social structure in India is however different from that in the West and so long as all the women are not emancipated it will be premature to follow the example of countries where men and women are accustomed to mix as equals for years

The question of college girls is different. Girls who read in the colleges are grown up, and their minds are sufficiently mature to withstand any temptation. In Calcutta, Bengali girls are going in large numbers to men's colleges.

This system of co-education in the colleges has also its advantages and disadvantages,

It is agreed that men and women being meant for one another, it is rather desirable that there should be better understanding between them. Co-education in the colleges helps in the development of better understanding between the sexes. Women not accustomed to mix with men are liable to fall easy victims to temptation, just as strangers to the city life are more easily run over by automobiles than the city folk.

Co-education in a college is less objectionable The question of co-education in schools is however different.

Before full physical and mental development boys and girls should not be placed together.

PHYSICAL TRAINING OF GIRLS

Women should be inspired with self reliance and trained in self-defence against ruffians. Jiu-jut-su the Japanese system of self-defence is a useful method. It is of course impossible for a girl to fight single-handed against a gang of *budmashes* but cases are not rare in which a woman succeeded in killing or maiming her assailant

Every girl should also know the law of private defence

We give below an interesting case in which Mankhushi the brave wife of Chunilal Chakrabarti a poor Brahmin of village Raipore in Budge-Budge killed a man named Keshab Haldar who tried to commit criminal assault on her The case was tried by the Additional Sessions Judge of Alipore.

Arguing for the defence Mr J C. Gupta, Counsel said that the prosecution had fairly admitted that the husband Chunilal could not be held guilty of murder or abetment of murder but the learned public prosecutor was not right in submitting that though Mankushi Devi might not be guilty under section 302 she might have

committed an offence under sections,326,324 I.P.C. Counsel submitted that the facts in the case were admitted and these were that Chunilal was a poor, simple Brahmin who maintained himself by priest-craft and that his wife Mankushi Devi was a chaste and devoted lady, while the deceased Keshab was a young man of bad charactar.

According to the evidence. Keshab was trying to corrupt Mankhushi by dangling before her eyes money,scented hair-oil, soaps and such other things. Though poor, and though it was difficult for a woman to withstand the temptation of the kind offered to this lady,yet she did not encourage the overtures of the deceased. Chunilal complained to the guardians of the deceased, but instead of restraining him his guardians insulted and even assaulted the husband. On the night of February 29 last Keshab went to the hut where the husband and wife were sleeping. These facts Counsel submitted, had been admitted, Mankhushi had, in her confession, clearly described how the deceased forcibly broke through the '*jhap*' and how she hit him in order to preserve her chastity.

Counsel then placed the law regarding the right of private defence before the jury and submitted that he disagreed with the public

prosecutor that in such a case the jury had to see whether she exceeded her right of private defence. Counsel drew the attention of the jury to the law which entitled a lady if there was an assault with intent to outrage her modesty to kill the assailant Counsel further submitted that if a man committed house-breaking at night, the owner of the house which was like a castle to him was entitled to kill the intruder Therefore, if once it was found that the accused inflicted the wound when there was an assault with intent to outrage her modesty she was entitled to the verdict of not guilty Counsel explained that assault did not mean any actual physical contact but a gesture or a preparation constituted an assault" according to the Indian Penal Code. The lawmakers Mr Gupta pointed out had put a premium on the sanctity of the person of women and in order to preserve their chastity they need not wait for actual physical assault upon them but were entitled to inflict a wound even causing death in order to save themselves

Mr Gupta submitted to the Jury that he did not claim an acquittal in this case on the ground of benefit of doubt but he requested the Jurors to give a verdict that not only accused Mankhushi was justified in law in inflicting wound causing death but that the jury should also hold that her act was commendable and her conduct worthy,

of emulation by every helpless woman in these days of offence against women, particularly in Bengal. Her conduct and example ought to strengthen the hands of the poor, helpless women folk who were pestered with attention from debauches. The moral support of all right-thinking men must be with Mankhushi Devi. particularly in these days of lamentable outrages and abduction cases in Bengal.

Counsel concluded his address in an impassioned appeal to the jury to acquit Mankhushi honourably so that her brave endeavour to preserve her chastity and to vindicate the honour of women might be rewarded instead of being punished.

The judge then summed up the case to the jury and explained the law on the subject in detail and told the jury that no one could weigh in a golden scale and then determine how much force was necessary for the right of private defence. The judge then placed the evidence disclosed in the case and asked the jury to come to anunanimous verdict. After 5 minutes deliberation, the jury returned and gave an unanimous verdict of 'not guilty'. Agreeing with the verdict the judge acquitted the accused on 29th February 1932.

We give below the story of another brave woman who successfully defended her chastity.

Sukadebi wife of late Khokaram Sutradhar of the village of Kantahati P S Dhamrail in Dacca District was prosecuted under Section 302 (murder)

The facts of the case were that on the 6th Aswin 1339 B S at night a Muhammedan entered the house of Sukadevi breaking the door and tried to rape her Finding no other means she wounded him with a *'ramdao* At this the intruder fled away and breathed his last in a paddy field 400 cubits off from the house

On hearing the cry of Sukadevi the neighbours came to her house and found her senseless They saw blood in her room and in the court yard When she gained her sense she said that a man came to her house stealthily and breaking into her room tried to rape her In order to save her chastity and being helpless she wounded him with a *'ramdao* She could not recognise him

At day break about 200 Muhammedans came to the very paddy field where Samsuddin died and they went to the house of Sukadevi following the blood stains The Choukidar (village constable) and the Muhammedans beat her severely She showed the Judge the signs of beating

The defence plea was that Shamsuddin forced open her door and entered her hut with the intention of criminally assaulting her but on being

struck with *ramdao*, by Sukhadevi he ran away and fell dead in a field near by. It was further alleged that a large number of Muhammedans came down to Sukhadevi's house on hearing the hue and cry and beat her mercilessly and all other Hindus in the vicinity.

Accepting the unanimous verdict returned by the mixed jury of Hindus and Muhammedans, the Second Additional Sessions Judge of Dacca acquitted her on 26-1-33.

The special feature of the verdict returned by the jury was that the Muhammedan foreman on behalf of his co-jurors recommended that Sukhadevi should be amply rewarded for her heroic display of courage at a time when her honour was at stake.

Dangers of Women Travelling Alone

Cases of robbery and rape on women travelling alone in Indian railways are not rare. On account of the purdah system the railways provide ladies' compartments. No man is allowed in such compartments and so male attendants of the ladies have to travel in separate compartment. The women are thus left at the mercy of robbers and ruffians.

We may give here a case of an unfortunate Anglo Indian woman who was the victim of such

a cowardice attack. On 7th November 1932 the girl aged 17 years was travelling alone in an Intermediate class compartment in the down Darjeeling mail while her husband was in the adjacent compartment. When the train left Hili station a Muhammedan named Sheikh Khalil entered the compartment. It was midnight and the girl was asleep but she was awakened at the sound and tried to pull the danger signal But the ruffian caught hold of her and forcibly raped her

In the meantime the husband of the girl heard the cry of his wife. The train was then going at the speed still he went to the compartment at the risk of his life and there was a scuffle. The Muhammedan youth jumped out of the running train

When the train reached Santahar a report was made to the local police. A search was made for the accused and he was found seriously injured in a village near Hili. (1)

The following case is also similar

Bhogeswari, a young girl of 17 was travelling in a female compartment in a train on the Assam Bengal Railway on 23 rd. December 1932 Her husband was in a separate male compartment.

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(1) Sanjivani, 17-11 32.

There were two other women in Bhogeswari's compartment, but they got down at Namti Ali station. As the train was leaving the station a cooly entered the room and made immoral proposal to her. On her refusal he gagged her mouth, but Bhogeswari struggled with him and gave him good kicks. Baffled in his attempt he then tried to snatch away her ornaments, but the girl was too good for him. She caught hold of him but when the train reached Amguri station he bit her finger and escaped to another compartment. The man was however arrested by the police.

These cases prove the necessity of physical culture among women.

EDUCATION IN SEXUAL MATTER

In a hot climate like India a girl of 14 years generally attains her puberty with early growth of sexual instinct

A young girl receives no education about sexual matter, which plays such an important part in the physical as well as social life of a woman. An ignorant girl may fall an easy prey to the overtures of a licentious wicked man

The present state of public opinion is against teaching such useful subjects as marriage procreation and maternity even to grown up unmarried girls; but fortunately the younger generation is becoming more and more awakened to the seriousness of the question Inspite of reticence of their parents young girls learn everything about sexual matter from married girls ignorant maid servants and other pernicious sources It is better for the future well being of the girls that they should learn all that they ought to know from their mother or lady teacher They are the best persons to teach them by examples from history and sacred books what a priceless treasure chastity is to a woman and how to preserve it They should also know that human body is not a mere instrument for sexual

pleasures, but she will have a sacred mission to procreate children who will be glory to her and to her mother land. It is undoubtedly a very delicate subject and if the mother feels shy, she may give a reliable book on the subject to her daughter, but the parents and their family physician should go through the book first of all to see that it is really suitable for her.

The so-called sexual books in the vernacular with which the market has been flooded are unsuitable for the purpose. What is required is a special book on the subject for their girls and the subject should be disclosed delicately.

The life of many a girl has been ruined only through ignorance of the fact that sexual relations with a man may cause pregnancy and a pregnant unmarried girl has no place in the society. We know of a girl who submitted to the overtures of a boy-servant only out of curiosity and did not know the consequences. Her mother was asleep and she was all alone with the servant boy No one saw them and they were quite satisfied with their act. But the thing did not remain concealed and her parents came to know of it when signs of pregnancy appeared.

We give below the pathetic story of a married girl told before the magistrate in Calcutta.

A. B. a Buddhist girl stated in court that she

was a student of the Victoria Institution She knew accused H from before. On August 7 at 8-30 P.M he took her on the plea of sight seeing from her house at Bowbazar (Calcutta) to a house at Barrackpore in a taxi On the way H gave her something to eat and she did not know what happened afterwards

At Barrackpore he had intimacy with her against her wish or consent by threat of exposing her to the public that she had eloped with him She wanted to return to her house, but he refused to let her go and locked her up in a room Every night he had intimacy with her He kept her in different houses at Barrackpore

Continuing the girl stated that the accused wrote letters to her She also admitted that she had written some letters to him.

The old custom of early marriage of girls is becoming a thing of the past. The unmarried girl of to-day is a new problem in modern Hindu society and the parents should know how to deal with her

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Improvement Of Living Conditions

Improvement of Slums

The labourers, servants, coolies, the *chamars*, the *mehtars* (sweepers) and other inhabitants of these bustees are as necessary factors of the society as any other well-to-do citizen. Their services are indispensable to the society and in the interest of the community the condition of the bustee people must be improved.

Some of the large mills and factories have built dwelling houses for the workers. But most of the smaller industries cannot follow their example.

Cheap lodging houses for married people with their children may be profitable to owners. It should draw the sympathy of benevolent capitalists who may not only earn a modest interest, but at the same time help in promoting the comfort and health of the helpless poor

It will be interesting to know how this problem was tackled in England and other European countries. In 1923 Mr. Neville Chamberlain carried a housing bill in the Parliament known

as the Chamberlain Act of 1923 The policy of this act was to rely mainly upon private enterprise and provision was made for grant of subsidies to prospective owners. Private builders had been hampered hitherto by want of sufficient working capital Local authorities were now empowered to advance loans to the builders and also purchasers of homes to the extent of ninety per cent of value. The Housing (Financial Provisions) Bill of 1924 was a supplement to the 1923 Act. The object of the Act was to provide within 15 years a total of 2,500 000 houses to be let at a rental within the means of the ordinary working class. It allowed a subsidy of £ 9 a year for 40 years for each house

The London County Council has built many houses in London. While several charitable agencies like the Sutton Trust with a capital of about 3 million pounds the Peabody Donation Fund with funds of about 2 1/2 million sterling the Guiness Trust etc. are doing excellent work.

In Germany there are Co-operative Building Societies working under subsidy from the State.

The question of habitations for the poor labourers is an important national problem The insanitary bustees are not only the centres from which contagious diseases spread but are also the source of recruits for low class brothels

The moral well being of this working class requires provision for cheap model dwellings.

In Calcutta the Improvement Trust has built several barracks for labourers, displaced from their bustees by the various schemes for the improvement of the city. But these houses are too few in number and the problem of accommodation remains where it was.

PROHIBITION OF SALE OF WINE

The taking of *sura* (wine) is among the five great sins for which very severe expiation is prescibed by the ancient Hindu lawgivers from Manu downwards According to the *Shiva Purana* the avoidance of liquor and even of its smell is the common *dharma* of all castes " The *Brahmand Purana* says Never should any person of the four castes drink it

If drunkenness was introduced amongst the native of Bengal through the influence of European example, that effect was produced very early The oldest prints complain loudly of the number of arrack shops everywhere set up and of the difficulty of obtaining domestic servants, whose sobriety could be relied upon. (1)

Craving for wine and women goes hand in hand and brothels always grow round a wine shop Wine and toddy shops are closely connected with prostitution Toddy is the drink for the poor while champagne and whisky are the favourite drinks of the higher classes Wine is also secretly sold in some of the brothels at an enhanced price after the hour of closing of liquor shops and this is an attraction for habitual drunk

(1) The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company Vol II

ards. On the other hand there are many people who would not drink in their own house as this vicious habit is looked down upon in Indian society and also do not dare to frequent public bars from fear of exposure. These men visit brothels for the purpose of satisfying their craving for drink,

There is a system of licensing of liquor shops and generally residential quarters are avoided. But these shops are in most cases situated in bazar and other places where a large number of people congregate and are a great source of temptation to people who would not drink were there no such shops.

Drinking is one of the most important causes of ruin of men. A labouror with cash in his pocket has a decided antipathy to drink alone and generally takes his friends with him or invites everyone in the brothel to partake with him, The dearness of liquor has never stood in the way of an addict : it has only made him pay the more for it and led to his starving himself,his wife and children the greater in consequence,

The country liquor shops are rendezvous of low class people, rowdies and men of bad character.

They not infrequently molest ladies passing by in front of such shops. Brothels grow in the

vicinity of the grog shops and low class prostitutes may be seen standing near the shops after sunset.

Prohibition of sale of wine may be a difficult task in Europe or United States of America where the people are accustomed to drink on account of the cold climate. But India has a very hot climate specially during certain parts of the year and the religions of both the Hindus and Muhammedans enjoin abstinence from drinking

The people of India are temperate and a drunkard is hated by the society So it is easy to prohibit the sale of intoxicant drugs in India and the question of revenue should not be allowed to come in It is a matter of shame that vice is made a sort of revenue

CONTROL OF INDECENT PUBLICATIONS

Indecent publications stimulate sexual impulses of men and women and largely contribute to the corruption of the youthful mind.

Some of the American pictures shown on the screen depict scenes of provocatively semi-naked dancing girls and indecent hints which may be proper to Western eyes but are barbarous to the people of Eastern countries.

It may be said to the credit of Indian theatres that though the girls are all public women they do not allow such vulgar exhibition of naked bodies. Even in the Indian films, where such scenes have to be played, the services of Anglo-Indian girls are requisitioned

Good films have great educational value, but such films do not generally draw good crowd, Sex appeal in its lowest forms and sanctification of the devil and all his works—by such means some of the films appeal to lust, an appetite which ought to be starved.

The Boards of Film Censors should be constituted on a new basis. At present they are controlled by the police and naturally approach the task of censorship from a political standpoint.

Men and women who take interest in education and welfare of children should have a say in the matter Everything that may be calculated to awaken carnal feelings in the minds of impressionable youth should be expunged.

Some of the religious plays and pictures describing the loves of gods and goddesses are erotic and highly objectionable.

The divine love of *Radha* representing human soul for *Krishna* the God has in the hands of vulgar artists taken the shape of lewd pictures These may be compared with erotic Christian ecclesiastical art in which a beautiful woman offering her breast to a child represented the Virgin Mary and a seductive maiden revealed in her nakedness is a Christian martyr being thrown to the lions for refusing to worship the heathen gods Such pictures wound the susceptibility of religious people and should be suppressed in the interest of public morality

Obscene picture postcards showing details of sexual acts and perversities are secretly sold by dealers in picture postcards A picture postcard contained in a sealed envelope sells at high price The hawkers stroll about in the streets with these obscene picture envelopes and attract the attention of the people who pass by them with the cry Nuked pictures Babu Paris pictures.

Not infrequently these hawkers cheat their dupes by putting a mere naked photo of a woman in the envelope.

The open sale of such indecent pictures in broad daylight in the busiest parts of the streets of Calcutta and Bombay is disgraceful.

The prostitutes have a taste for indecent and prurient prints and their rooms are generally adorned with obscene pictures

In Bengal the small French town of Chandernagore is a centre of disgraceful notoriety for manufacture of obscene books and pictures, which are smuggled into the British territory.

In recent years there have been considerable reduction in the import of the grosser forms of obscenities. A very considerable proportion of the pictures confiscated by the Collector of Customs consists of matter which would ordinarily not be regarded as obscene in Europe. The attitude towards this subject is, however, not the same in India as it is on the continent of Europe and the Collectors of Customs, therefore, exercise their power of confiscation rather widely.

There is undoubtedly a considerable indigenous production of pornography. The Burma Police reports that there has been an increase in the production of pornographic books. According

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to the report of the Calcutta Police the internal traffic is carried on by making reproductions from pictures previously imported.

So long as there is a demand for the indecent pictures no repressive laws will be able to stop the trade altogether The attempt at repression makes it but more profitable Still in the interest of social purity it is the duty of the state and the public to prevent this infamous species of depravity as far as possible.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

VIGILANCE

Vigilance associations may be formed for creating public opinion and taking steps for abolition of prostitution.

(*a*) *Educational work and Propaganda*—

It is advisable to appoint a whole time worker conversant with the recent educational methods in connection with moral and social hygiene. He should co-operate and help the honorary workers by organising their services.

The workers should arrange purdah lectures illustrated with suitable cinema films pointing out to young women the many pit falls and warning of the dangers to which they are exposed.

Careful observation is also necessary of certain types of recreation such as films and dancing halls.

Board of Censors should include some persons interested in social work.

(*b*) *Vigilance work*—

Arrangement may be made to keep a watch over railway and steamer stations for girls travelling alone or with men of suspicious character.

The Y M C A and the International Travellers' Aid Association assist European women coming to Bombay But there is no such organisation to help Indian girls stranded in the large railway and inland steamer stations

The following case shows clearly the need of such an organisation to help stranded women

The girl in question named Subhasini Dasi was coming to Calcutta from Benares in com pany of her husband. She was travelling in an inter class female compartment and her husband in a separate compartment On arrival at the Howrah station she looked for her husband and missed him apparently he being left behind in some intermediate station

Realising her helpless condition the girl burst into tears which attracted a young man, looking like a Bengali Hindu who enquired about her distress The girl told the stranger of her plight and further told him that she had no relation in Calcutta but if she was put in some train going to Pabna where she belonged she would be able to reach her home without the help of any escort

The young man offered her help which she accepted He proposed to take her to Bhowanipur first whereform she would be taken to Sealdah station and so hired a hackney carriage The man had the shutter of the carriage drawn up

and as it was passing along Harrison Road, Burrabazar, made, it was alleged, immoral proposals to her and even tried to use force. The girl cried out which attracted the attention of a traffic constable who held up the carriage and arrested the man and took him along with the girl to Jorasanko thana, where she related the whole story.

It transpired at the police station that the name of the man is Din Mohamed (1)

The girl would not have fallen in the hands of the ruffian, were there arrangement at the station. She escaped miserable fate only by the accidental notice of a traffic constable.

It is advisable to have woman workers at railway and steamer stations as Indian women are very shy and would only confide their tales of woe to a sympathetic lady worker.

(3) *After care of girls rescued—*

Voluntary societies may come forward to help the unfortunate girls abandoned by the society for a moment's weakness and doomed to suffer the worst degradation. The number of homes for rescued girls are very few and there is field for charitable persons in this direction

Investigation into brothel areas is also an important work.

(1) Liberty, 2-12-32.

(4) *Influence on Legislation*—

The associations may also bring their influence to bear on national legislation for the introduction of effective reforms

Mention may here be made of the Vigilance Association of Bombay The Association runs a shelter for women and its workers carry on active investigation into the conditions in the city It is mainly owing to its activities that the amended Act for Prevention of Prostitution was passed in Bombay

In Bengal an association called the Bengal Presidency Council of Women was established and showed some activity for a year or two But it is in a moribund condition now

At Bangalore there is a Moral Welfare Association As a part of their propaganda campaign, they have printed literature in Tamil and Kanarese languages and also a handbook on Social Hygiene. They have a cinema and the workers travel about with useful films and slides in different villages

CONTROL OF EMPLOYMENT

in Places of Amusement or Abroad

Offer of employment in films is an alluring bait to some of the young Indian girls, dreaming of a glorious career on the screen. Advertisements for would-be female artistes are frequently published in the 'wanted' columns of the Indian newspapers. The following sample is quoted from an actual advertisement.

"Wanted—Good looking Indian and Anglo-Indian girls to act in a film Experience not necessary".

Indian girls do not go outside India for employment. But Anglo-Indian girls are sometimes duped to join foreign touring theatrical or circus troupes.

In some of the European countries there are Government Employment Officers. The Government supervises the engagement of women in theatres, music halls, films, circuses etc., it bein specially laid down that every contract must be submitted for inspection to the central bureau. The engagement of girls under 16 years of age is in all cases made conditional upon the consent of the parent or guardian.

In these countries private employment agencies or firms are forbidden to offer posts abroad this right being exclusively reserved to the State Employment Offices These measures secure to women in general and to minors and children in particular the protection and assistance of the law against persons professionally engaged in the traffic and India may well copy their examples

In England there is provision for safeguard for girls employed abroad in dancing and other forms of entertainment By Children (Employment Abroad) Act 1913 no girl under 16 is allowed to go abroad for this purpose without a licence from a magistrate sitting in the principal London Police Court. Conditions to secure the girls supervisions and return are imposed and enforced by consular agents.

Special Arrangement For Arrest and Trial of Female Offenders

Women Police

In cases where women are concerned it would be an advantage to have women assistants to help the police officers in their investigation and searches.

The Indian women are shy and do not like to appear before male officers for giving evidence Cases of indecent assault on women in custody by police officers, though fortunately rare, may also occur These are sufficient reasons for the formation of a women civic police force The laws for the protection of women and children, e. g., the Act for the Protection of Minor Children, the Brothel Act in Madras and Bombay, the Sarda Act, etc. require the co-operation of women.

The Acts for the Suppression of Brothels and Immoral Traffic and for the rescue of minor girls give wide powers to the police to enter and search brothels for the rescue of minor girls. Any officer of the SubInspector grade may be authorised by the Commissioner of Police or

the District Magistrate to enter any house of ill fame. It is highly desirable that during their entry and investigation they should be accompanied by a responsible woman police officer or social worker

Police women have been found useful in England, Germany and Austria In Austria about 27 women are employed in Police Welfare departments Some of the assistants are employed in combating the activities of those who traffic in women and in connection with beggars women and children whose morals are in danger and juveniles who are morally and physically neglected. They accompany women and children to police courts and institutions are present at the taking of depositions from them in cases of sex crimes and misdemeanours endeavour to reclaim women who drink and protect those whose husbands drink They act as wardresses in prison and take charge of a Police Juvenile Home and Hostel for Women and Girls.

During the Non Co-operation Movement under Mahatma Gandhi a large number of Indian Women threw off their veils and came out of their seclusion—a thing unparalleled in the history of India The male police force seemed to be unable to cope with this new problem in the field of politics and in some towns the Government appointed women constables But these

women were recruited mainly from low class Indian women and Christian and Anglo-Indian girls and the force soon came into discredit It is better to have educated women of good character with some training in social welfare work. Such women may be expected to enjoy confidence of the public and to do their duties conscientiously. If the provision for a women police force be not feasible, women engaged in social welfare work may be given certain special powers of a police officer.

WOMEN MAGISTRATES

It will be an advantage to have women as honorary or paid magistrates for trying cases under the Brothels Act (where one exists) or the Children s Act With regard to public decency these cases may be tried in camera and the nauseating details should not be allowed to be published in the newspapers.

In Bengal several women have recently been appointed as Presidency Magistrates for the presidency town of Calcutta They have to sit with the Stipendiary Presidency Magistrate in the Central Children Court of Calcutta

The rules regarding the procedure adopted by the Juvenile Courts are given below

The Juvenile Court consists of the Stipendiary Presidency Magistrate appointed by Government to preside over the Central Children Court Calcutta together with one lady Honorary Presidency Magistrate

Subject to the control of the Governor in Council the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta maintains a roster of ladies appointed by Government as Honorary Presidency Magistrates to sit in the Central Children Court

with the Stipendiary Magistrate and nominates the lady who will sit daily with the Magistrate.

The Court sits daily from 11 A.M. at such place as the Local Government may fix for the purpose up till such time as may be necessary for the disposal of cases coming up for trial that day.

The Court tries all cases under the Bengal Children Act, 1922 (Bengal Act II of 1922).

The Stipendiary Magistrate records the evidence.

In case of any disagreement between the Stipendiary and Honorary Magistrate, the opinion of the former prevails.

In the absence of the Honorary Presidency Magistrate nominated to sit on any particular day, the Stipendiary Magistrate exercises singly all or any of the powers of a Juvenile Court under the said Act.

No police officer who conducts the case or who gives evidence or who is present in court for any other purpose is allowed to be in uniform. Every such officer wears his ordinary dress.

The public generally has no access to the room or building used by the Court ; but the Court may, at its discretion, permit any person

to be present during the whole or part of the proceedings of a case.

In case of any dispute or doubt as to the age of a child or young person or youthful offender brought before the Central Children Court, the court may send the child or young person or youthful offender to the Police Surgeon or other medical practitioner approved by Government for the purpose for examination and report and may act on such report.

NECESSITY OF DETERRENT PUNISHMENT

IN CASES OF FORCIBLE ABDUCTION

One effective way of fighting the evil is to pass deterrent sentences on the guilty.

(1) Capital punishment—

In view of the alarming increase of cases of abduction and rape in Bengal as the figures published by the Government of Bengal show, deterrent sentences should be awarded to the criminals of this class. These men are worse than murderers as they ruin happy homes and the lives of women who become dead to society.

The infection of this shameful tendency has spread specially among a certain class of people in Bengal and an exemplary punishment can only root out this virus.

Recently in the United States of America death sentence has been passed upon a person for abducting a girl,

The condemned man was William McGee. He was convicted of abducting Miss Mary McElroy, daughter of the City Manager—equivalent to the Mayor—of Kansas City.

The jury deliberated for five hours. Addressing them before they retired Mr Michael Ohern Assistant Prosecutor declared

'The nation is watching this court room As soon as the message is sent from it that the jury has said that this man shall hang by the neck until he is dead you will have taken a big step to stop this wave of kidnapping

Although it had been expected that the jury would return a verdict of guilty the death sentence evidently came as a surprise, and the prisoner stood as if stunned.

If this sort of punishment is inflicted upon the abductors in Bengal the abduction cases will cease.

Forcible abduction is very revolting In the interest of civilisation and public safety these criminals and enemies of society should be removed from our midst.

The Government should exact such laws as will prove an effective check to such crimes in future and India may follow the example of U.S.A.

(2) Transportation for Life —

The existing laws provide for a maximum penalty of transportation for life but it is very rarely used

A few years back a life transportation was

inflicted upon three Indian Christians for abduction of a European lady at Ranchi. The criminals deserved the punishment. But unfortunately this sort of severe punishment is rarely inflicted on abductors of Indian girls.

Recently a very daring case of abduction occurred in the heart of the city of Calcutta on March 29, 1933. Annapurna a married girl of 15 years, was forcibly abducted from a house at 47 Telangabagan Lane, Maniktala in Calcutta, by two Muhammedans named Sahibjan and Sheikh Abdul Rahman. The poor girl had lost her father only 15 days before the date of occurrence. She was raped by Sahibjan, Ismail and Abdul Rahman.

Her mother traced her with the help of her neighbours and rescued her.

The accused were arrested and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ; but the punishment was too lenient taking the nature of the crime into consideration.

In another case two Muhammedan constables forcibly raped a lady during search of the house of her husband at Chittagong. On the complaint of Charubala, the unfortunate woman, the constables were sent up and sentenced to 2 to 3 years' imprisonment. The punishment should have been exemplary in this case in view of the

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abuse of the power entrusted in a police officer But unfortunately no appeal was made to enhance the sentence.

It is a matter of regret that a few years of imprisonment are only given for rape in the few cases in which the police are able to trace out the accused.

In a case where a rape is proved the sentence should be at least one of transportation for life If the sentence of a lower court be deficient the Government should appeal to the High Court for enhancement.

The experience of the late Sir Ameer Ali who was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court about forty years ago is of great interest.

The following is taken from his reminiscences as published in the Muslim Culture of April 1932 :—

A form of crime which happily was not then common in India had become frequent in the unruly district of Rajshahi. Bands of hooligans I regret to say not all of them young took to what is called in the annals of crime gang rape This required stern repression. Sessions Judges trying the cases were wont to inflict sentences varying from four to ten years imprisonment which had really little effect in stopping the outrages. Gangs continued to break into houses mostly mere

huts, of inoffensive peasants and carry off married and unmarried women, and after outraging them returned the poor half-dead creatures to their own doors.

"I applied to Government to pass a short Act legalising capital sentences in such cases, as was done in Melbourne, where outrages by the 'larrikins' were thus ruthlessly stopped But the Indian Government had not the courage of the Australian, and I received a polite refusal. My colleague and I then took the matter into our own hands, The sentences came before the Criminal Bench for revision and often the Legal Remembrancer appeared for the Crown on the ground of inadequacy of sentence. Our procedure was to issue notices on the accused to show cause why their sentences should not be enhanced. They almost invariably appeared by counsel or pleader and after a full and patient hearing on the accused's behalf, if we upheld the sentence, we enhanced it to transportation for life, 'to the Andaman Islands'.

"In a few months we had the satisfaction of hearing that these brutalities had ceased."

This proves that the maximum punishment of transportation for life inflicted in rape cases will result in an appreciable decrease in crime of this nature in Bengal.

(3) Flogging as a punishment—

The low class people who commit gang rapes are illiterate and almost barbarous. Mere imprisonment in jail for a few years has very little terror for this class They are however afraid of physical punishment like sentence of death and flogging

In September 1932 Mr S C. Sen a Hindu member moved in the Indian Legislative Council—that the Criminal Law be revised to include flogging in the punishments prescribed for abduction and similar crime against women, and the forfeiture of property in cases of repetition by old offenders.

Captain Sher Mohammed (a Muhammedan) opposing said that flogging was a barbarous custom

Mr Mohammed Muzzam (a Muhammedan) said that the mass of opinion in the country was opposed to the infliction of such a severe punishment.

Mr C. W Gwyne opposing on behalf of the Government said that on the whole there had been little increase in the crime (?) and the existing law being adequate Government were not agreeable to enhance the punishment.

The resolution was lost !

The strongest opposition came from the Muhammedan members, who were opposed to such severe punishment in rape cases. Flogging is, it is true, a barbarous custom, but such a barbarous remedy is necessary in dealing with barbarous crimes on women. In Bombay there is a law providing for flogging in cases of rioting. Surely forcible abduction and rape are more serious offences than rioting. The statement of the Government is rather strange. That the crime is increasing, inspite of the laws, belies the official view that the exising laws are adequate.

(4) Collective fine on villages helping in concealing abducted girls.—

In many cases the Muhammedans who abduct Hindu girls, are helped by their co-religionists in the village. Their relatives are not ashamed to give them shelter and even help them in concealing the abducted women. They thus find it easy to take their poor victims from place to place and avoid escape.

Cases are known where a Muhammedan accused of abduction of a non-Muhammedan woman was garlanded in the court and defended by Muhammedan lawyers free of costs ! In some cases the villagers did not feel any shame to collect subscription for defending these scoundrels.

In some of the villages in the interior of Bengal there are gangs of *budmashes* Until these gangs are broken up the crimes of this nature will continue. It is very difficult for a poor family with young women to live in these villages

In cases where the co-villagers of a culprit aid and abet in the crime or try to shield him the people should be punished In villages where cases of abduction take place more than once collective fine should be imposed on the class of villagers to which the culprits belong

PROVISION FOR LIVELIHOOD OF FALLEN WOMEN

No amount of correction or guidance can rescue a habitual criminal from the life of criminality. But if the first offenders are properly dealt with about 90 per cent of them may be taken away from such a life. So in the case of prostitutes, there is a large number of girls who were either abducted against their will and cast away by society or a mistake of a day has landed her in a position from which there is no other alternative left to her. These girls can be rescued from such a life of shame and made decent members of society.

An arrangement should be made to give training for livelihood to these girls after they are weaned away from the life of shame.

A comprehensive system of education will enable them to stand on their own legs and thereby prevent them from becoming a drag on the society.

Suitable arrangement should be made to teach them such lucrative arts and crafts that can be carried on at home, e. g. tailoring and embroidery, lace making, knitting, carpet and

durree weaving cane work chikon work, preparation of chutneys jams jellies etc photography and other cottage industries. These will open avenues of employment to the women and enable them to earn their own livelihood

Nursing—

There is a great demand for Indian midwives (dais) and nurses Arrangement should be made for teaching the science of maternity child welfare and midwifery to girls who have some knowledge of English

Teaching—

In old days the village teacher of the Primary schools (*gurumahasaya*) was contented with his small pittance But now with the increase in the cost of living it is impossible to maintain a family on Rs 8 or 9 per month As a result of this the village pedagogue who taught the alphabets and the elements of arithmetic is fast disappearing The place of the male teachers can however be filled by women of good character who were victims of forcible abduction. Not much educational qualification is required for such a post while the remuneration is sufficient for the maintenance of a woman

Service in Office—

A Railway Company has recently opened a special booking office for ladies. The booking

clerks are Indian girls, which is a great advantage to Indian women.

Some of the more advanced banks have special ladies' accounts department under Indian ladies.

Smart girls with some general education will have little difficulty in getting emgloyment as shop assistants.

HOME FOR THE RESCUED GIRLS

Abolition of brothels should be the aim of every civilised country But such legislation must go hand in hand with provision for the rescued girls who do not know of any other means of livelihood

These homes must not be houses of detention The women rescued from the path of shame should be taught to become useful members of society These homes should serve as asylums for the girls only so long as they are not able to earn by honest work. Arrangement should be made to teach remunerative cottage industries requiring small capital

Many women take to the path of sin on account of poverty and ill treatment at home and they would, unless already lost to all sense of shame, be glad to learn some work which would enable them to earn an honest living

Management of these homes should always be in the hand of respectable tactful and educated *ladies* It is very difficult to control women of the class from which prostitutes are usually drawn Some of them are very unruly and intractable and may create violent scenes or even escape.

There should be separate arrangement for incorrigible prostitutes raised in filthiness of mind and body. It is better to have separate homes for girls of this type. These girls take pride in their shameful conduct and do not appreciate the value of chastity.

The rescue homes for the reclamation of fallen women should be non-sectarian institutions, as Hindu girls would not go to a Christian home on account of religious susceptibilities.

The Homes should be under the control of women workers, and men, who may be in an advisory committee, must not be allowed to meddle in its internal management. The services of a visiting lady doctor may also be arranged.

There are already several rescue homes in India, but their number is still very insufficient. Homes for rescued girls should be established before closing all the brothels by law. It has been found that mere closing of brothels is no remedy, as these women become scattered all over the cities. They even invade residential quarters and thus become a greater menace to society.

Girls dealt with under the Calcutta Suppression of the Immoral Traffic Act are sent to the following homes.—

1, *Gobinda Kumar Home, Panihati.*—This home is intended for Indian girls dealt with

under the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act as well as the Bengal Children Act

The capacity of the home is 95 girls

There were 88 girls of ages varying from 6 to 16 in this home in 1931 Out of 88 girls 71 were Bengalis 6 United Provinces girls, 7 Oriyas 3 Marwari and 1 Nepali All of them were Hindus dealt with under section 4 of the Immoral Traffic Act During 1931 the average cost of maintaining a girl amounted to about Rs 20 per month as against Rs 23 in 1930 of this Rs. 20 Rs 10 per month was contributed by Government, the balance being met from private sources. Owing to trade depression the amount of private subscriptions diminished and the authorities found it difficult to maintain the home at the standard they would have wished

The girls were taught hygiene needlework, painting drawing jam and chutney making and other useful subjects in addition to the ordinary elementary lessons

2 *Society for the Protection of Children in India*—The society renders useful assistance to children taken under its protection by arrang ing for their guardianship by placing them in suitable schools by help with clothing temporary relief and advice

The society dealt with 737 children of various

nationalities in 1931. Out of 737 children, 163 were placed in 42 different schools or institutions, 20 handed back to their guardians and 6 admitted into hospitals. The Society undertook the protection or guardianship of 101 children and gave temporary help or advice to 336.

In 1931, Government recognised the society as eligible for capitation grants for children committed to its custody by a Court under the Bengal Children Act or the Immoral Traffic Act. It also recieved the annual Government grant of Rs. 3,000.

The total expenditure of the society during the year 1931 was about Rs. 30,000.

3. *Salvation Army Women's Industrial Home for Girls, Entally.*—This home also is intended for Indian girls dealt with under the two Acts.

During the year 1931, 5 girls between the ages 8 to 14 were sent to this home by the Court. Of them 2 were Hindus and 3 Muhammedans. Two of them belonged to Bengal, 2 to the United Provinces and one came from Bihar and Orissa.

All these girls were rescued from houses of ill-fame and dealt with under section 4 of the Immoral Traffic Act, execpt one belonging to Bihar and Orissa and who was dealt with under section 380, Indian Penal Code, for theft.

The cost of maintenance was Rs. 16-10-8 per head of which Rs. 10 was paid from provincial revenues and the balance from public subscription

The home received during the year under review a maintenance grant of Rs. 1 500 in addition to a capitation grant.

(4) *Calcutta Protestant Home (Fendall Home)* —This home is intended for Anglo-Indian and European girls

No girls dealt with under the Bengal Children Act or the Immoral Traffic Act were sent to this home by the Juvenile Court during 1931 There were however girls sent in previous years and on their account the home received a total capitation grant of Rs 160 during 1931-32

There are also several other good rescue homes

(1) The Baptist Missionary Home receives women and children of all nationalities Several of the inmates are girls rescued from brothels

(2) *Nari Raksha Samity* and (3) Matri Sadan (6 Nilmani Ganguli Lane, Calcutta) have done very good work in connection with the rescue of abducted women, giving them shelter and help and making arrangement for the prosecution of the abductors.

(4) The Abala Ashram at Saraju Sadan 10 Simla Lane is also a similar institution.

(5) Hindu Nari Kalyan Asram, 11 Kundu Lane, Calcutta is a new institution.

(6) Hindu Abala Ashram 53, Chakraberia Road North, Bhowanipur.

The Women Protection Committee of the Bengal Hindu Sabha, 36, Harrison Road, Calcutta is also doing a most valuable service.

Jagajjanani Anath Asram at Kushtia (111 Miles from Calcutta) a home for misguided women is a good institution.

In Madras—

In Madras, there are several rescue homes managed by Indians ; but their number is very small. The Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act was passed in 1930, but the police could not enforce the law and close all the brothels as there were not sufficient number of rescue homes where the inmates of the closed brothels could be sent.

The following institutions are doing useful protective and preventive works ; the Vigilance Association, Hindu Yuvathi Saranalaya, the Madras Seva Sadan, Women's Indian Association, the Madras Social Service League, the Madras Children's Aid Society, the Madras Society for the Protection of Children, the Home for Children at Dabramare, the Indian Ladies' Samaj for the Education of Davadasi Children.

The Madras Seva Sadan Educational Institution and Home for Young Widows deal with orphan girls helpless young widows and deserted wives.

The Salvation Army Home for Women and Children receives both Indian and European women and children It gets a grant from the municipality and from the Government.

The Good Shepherd Convent for Children also takes care of girls.

In Bombay—

In Bombay girls under 16 rescued from brothels or bad environments under the provisions of the Bombay Children s Act were sent to some of the charitable institutions receiving financial help from the Government

The Bombay Presidency Women s Council has got half of a disused prison compound and the buildings therein for their Rescue Home for Indian girls a Remand Home and a Children s Aid Society About 300 cases passed through the home during nine years of which 220 girls were under 16 from the brothels

The Bombay Vigilance Society runs a shelter for Indian and Anglo-Indian girls. Many of the cases were young girls from the brothels

The Salvation Army runs a rescue home mainly for Indian women

The League of Mercy runs a small temporary home where women and girls can be received pending other measures. They have also a Babies' Home.

The Children's Aid Society also runs a home where girls rescued from brothels can be sent for preliminary care.

At Rangoon—

In Rangoon, the girls under 16 years rescued by the police from brothels or bad surroundings are removed to the homes run by the Salvation Army and the Rangoon Vigilance Association.

POSITION OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Illegitimate children are the result of extra-marital intercourse A man usually takes such relations lightly and where through bad luck the woman gets pregnant she alone suffers the consequences. In most cases of suicides of young widows of respectable families the cause is pregnancy from illicit love. A secret prostitute does not commit suicide but has to bear the burden single handed though the man is sometimes made to pay a trifling allowance for maintenance.

Foundling Hospitals

Foundling hospitals for the children of such as cannot or do not desire to keep their offspring are met with in most of the European cities but there are very few such homes in India

In Europe founding hospitals are maintained mainly by public endowments aided by help from the State. The hospitals are open day and night for the reception of infants and generally no question is asked The mother or the person who brings the child receives a ticket the duplicate of which is placed around the child s neck. In the hospital

in Stockholm, an entrance fee of about thirty five dollars is charged at the time of presentation of an infant.

It is believed that all the children left by their parents are not illegitimate. Many legitimate children are abandoned by their parents on account of their poverty. Of the illegitimate children, it is difficult to say to what class of society they belong.

Parents are allowed to see their children on appointed days. The authorities may permit a child to be taken away from the hospital if the parents are found to be in a position to support it,

The babies are given in charge of wet nurses. In the Foundling Hospitals in Mexico when a child has been about a month, it is sent to one of the adjacent villages where arrangement is made for it with some village woman having sufficient milk in her breast, These nurses are subject to a responsible person who lives in the village and answers for their good conduct. The child is brought back to the hospital when weaned. Few, however, are left to grow up in the asylum; they are adopted by respectable persons who bring them up as their own children.

Provision is made by the authorities for the proper education of the boys and girls. The boys

are educated and are in due time apprenticed to some useful trade. The girls are taught to read write, sew and cook : and arrangement is made for suitable match A small dowry is given from the funds of the hospital.

There is strong prejudice against these Foundling Hospitals among certain people on the ground that they encourage illicit sexual intercourse. But experience in western countries has shown that—

(*i*) In places where there are foundling hospitals the number of illegitimate births is not greater than those of places where there are none

(ii) The foundling hospitals prevent infanticide.

In India it is not rare to find dead body of new born babies or even living children left in dustbins or on the street to die of hunger or be devoured by jackals and birds of prey These horrible scenes are the best arguments for establishment of Foundling Hospitals in India on the model of Europe.

In Calcutta there is a small foundling hospital at 61 Lower Circular Road

Lying In Hospitals

There are many hospitals for delivery of pregnant women in India, but widows and unmarried girls, becoming pregnant as a result of illicit intercourse, avoid these public institutions where there is no privacy. In some European cities there are special lying-in-hospitals for these unfortunate women. Pregnant women may enter these hospitals without fear of exposure of their name.

PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

Protection of children from the hands of the traffickers and brothel keepers is the duty of the state. Little girls found guilty of any offence should also be seggregated from the hardened criminals and persons of bad character Reformation and not punishment should be the guiding principle in dealing with such cases

In Bengal there were provisions in the Criminal Procedure Code whereby first offenders were given opportunities of reformation and there were Reformatory Schools for the purpose. But there was no provision for the protection of children and young persons from the hands of undesirable persons. Inorder to remove this drawback the Children s Act was passed in Madras in 1920 in Calcutta in 1922 and then in Bombay in 1924 By this Act provision had been made not only for the custody trial and punishment of youthful offenders but also for the protection of children and young boys and girls

In 1929 a Children s Court was established in Calcutta which had jurisdiction not only over the city and suburbs of Calcutta but also the urban areas of 24 Parganas and Howrah

Children under 16 of both sex were dealt with by the court.

The House of Detention in Calcutta was established in 1922. This prevented the children from coming into contact with hardened criminals and arrangement was made to give them education and training in some useful work At first the probation officers in charge of the House of Detention were all men. But girls under 16 rescued from brothels or undesirable surroundings were also detained there and so it was found necessary to have a lady in charge of these girls.

Under the Bombay Children's Act girls can be removed from brothels and detained in a reliable home until further measures can be taken under the Act. Such girls can be placed in certified homes or in the custody of some reliable person until the age of 18. The Children's Aid Society a non-official agency for putting into operation and carrying out the provisions of the Children's Act does good work.

The Madras Immoral Traffic Act provides for the removal of girls upto the age of 18 and for their supervision until they attain the age of 21. Children under the care of a parent or guardian who by reason of immoral or drunken habits is unfit to have them under their care can also be removed under the Madras

Children s Act to a place of safety The Children s Act is however not applied outside Madras city

In Rangoon there is also a Children s Act since 1929 which provides for the removal of children living in a bad environment to a place of safety to be further taken care of Girls under 16 years living in a house of prostitution are dealt with in this way Delinquent children are dealt with at the Juvenile Court

CONTROL OF VENEREAL DISEASES

Venereal disease spreads generally among the young people and undermines the health and efficiency of the rising generation of a nation. When we consider the loss of efficiency caused by the gonococcus—the blindness of infants, ill-health and gonorrhœal arthritis and sterility of women and when we think of the cases of birth of dead children and infantile mortality, mental and bodily crippling of infants, young men and women to mention only a few of the economic evils due to syphilis, we are bound to conclude that the combating of venereal disease is a task of national importance

A young man contracts the infection as a result of his indiscretion. After its local effects are over, the poison lingers in the system ready to break out on any provocation in some one of its many disgusting manifestations, often deforming its victim and making his life a burden.

The man contaminates his innocent wife who suffers for the folly of her husband.

The consequences of a single error does not end here, These diseases affect not only the health and welfare of the present generation, but also of succeeding generations.

The poor infected wife is left through years of childlessness which is a curse to an Indian woman whose heart yearns for a child Then when pregnancy occurs the woman gives birth to a dead child and this is but the first of a series of similar misfortunes After a series of still birth and of miscarriages a living child may be born, but the joy is short lived

The child is sickly, feeble, under-weight and shows eruptions over its body The majority of these children die within a few weeks.

The next child to be born is perhaps healthy at birth but during the first or second month it ceases to thrive. There is general enlargement of glands and discharge from the nose and in time the typical signs of congenital syphilis appear The nose becomes like saddle-back due to disease of the bones and the teeth become notched, stamping the child for ever as a syphilitic.

In a few cases the active syphilitic lesions may not be seen until the child has reached puberty The health of the children thus tainted at their birth is generally below par

Control of venereal disease is thus not merely a medical problem but is of great national importance

Provision for adequate and free treatment of those who cannot afford the cost should be made by the state in the interest of society.

Venereal disease is viewed by some persons as a divine punishment for unclean sexual relation and according to this view the person contracting such maladies should be left to suffer.

Delirium tremens is the result of excessive drinking and may as well be considered as a divine punishment for intemperance : but no obstacle is placed in the way of treatment of a man suffering from this disease, If it is possible for delirium tremens, there is no justification in refusing the same in a case of syphilis or gonorrhoea. When a fire breaks out in a house in a congested locality no sane person would allow it to run its course and spread to his own house only because it was the result of the folly of his neighbour. The fire has to be brought under control in the interest of the other buildings which may also catch fire. When an epidemic, as for example cholera or small-pox, breaks out in a locality every one is afraid of it and measures for its prevention and spread are immediately taken ; but though syphilis and gonorrhoea are many times worse than those deadly epidemics, and is the cause of ruin of families and of misery and poverty nothing is practically done to coun-

teract its progress As venereal disease does its work of destruction slowly and in disguise its effects are not visible unlike those of cholera or small-pox

These vile diseases must be controlled not only for our own safety but also in the interest of the future generations

Methods of Prevention of Venereal Disease—

Various methods have been proposed and tried for prevention of venereal disease. Among them we may mention the following—

(*a*) Propaganda for education of the public about the dangers of venereal diseases

(*b*) Use of prophylactics

(*c*) Facility for free treatment of the disease in special hospitals

(*d*) Medical examination of prostitutes living in brothels with power to remove to hospital any woman found to be infected

(*e*) Legal provision for detention of infected persons—men and women—in special hospital for treatment until they are cured

Medical Examination of Prostitutes—

Venereal diseases are mainly spread by prostitutes and so it was thought that medical examination of prostitutes would prevent the spread of the disease.

Under this system every woman living in a brothel is required to appear periodically before a medical examiner and have herself examined.

The medical examination is made by the Medical Officer who visits the licensed brothel for the purpose.

The medical examination is to include all parts of the body, and the scientific devices which are available to the Medical Officer, in particular the vaginal speculum, are recommended to be used.

Prostitutes failing to report themselves for any one medical examination are reported by the Medical Officer to the Commissioner of Police who in the absence of a valid excuse takes steps to secure their attendance.

If the Medical Officer finds evidence of venereal infection, he at once sends notice of the diagnosis to the Police Commissioner and warns the prostitute against continuing sexual intercourse. She is then ordered by the Commissioner of Police to present herself at the hospital for treatment under penalty of fine.

When a prostitute is received into the hospital she has to remain there until her discharge by the medical officer-in-charge

For the purpose of recording the hospital diagnosis the medical history sheets are sent to the hospital authorities when the patient is admitted These sheets are kept there until the patient is discharged

When discharged from the hospital the patient, if necessary has to present herself for outdoor treatment and for observation The police authorities are informed in cases of outdoor treatment by a note on the certificate of discharge.

On the discharge of a prostitute her hospital record is sent to the Commissioner of Police who communicates it to the Medical Officer in charge of the brothel, where she lives for entry in his day book.

The system of medical examination of prostitutes was a failure, First of all there is no infallible diagnosis for syphilis. Only those in whom the malady was considerably advanced were recognised as possible sources of infection Examination of a prostitute every four or five days is useless as a preventive measure as she may be infected on the same day Four or five days will elapse before the next examination and

during that interval she must have infected every man who co-habited with her.

Moreover the municipal physician had little time to devote to any individual case, and the medical examination was nothing but a farce. The examination, to be of any use, must be thorough and a slide of the vaginal secretion taken in every case, or it should be abolished.

In most countries the system led to corruption and cases were not uncommon where prostitutes suffering from urethral disease were allowed to carry on their trade with the connivance of the medical officer.

The brothel mistresses were required to report all suspicious cases to the medical officer at once. But the mistress of such a house generally did not view such interference with the trade of her clients with equanimity and far from helping the authorities tried to conceal the fact as long as possible.

It is better to instruct the prostitutes regarding the signs and symptoms of the venereal diseases that they might recognise them in themselves or in prospective patrons. If they realise the dangers which they run from these diseases. they will themselves take precautionary measures.

Contagious Diseases Act

In some countries there are Contagious Disease Act for prevention of spread of venereal disease.

As a typical example we give here the following interesting bill quoted by Bauer in his work.

In the laws for the prevention and combating of venereal diseases there are provision for medical examination of prostitutes and detention of any woman found to be infected Sometimes no distinction of sex is made in enforcing treatment of the disease and men found suffering from syphilis or gonorrhœa are also compelled to take treatment. Men or women spreading the disease are equally liable to punishment.

It is the duty of a prostitute to inform the Medical Officer as soon as she suspects that she is infected The brothel keeper is also bound to send information of infection of any inmate of the brothel

The general features of the regulations for control of venereal diseases in different countries may now be discussed

Duty of a Prostitute when Infected—

"Should a woman suspect that she is infected she must permit no one to have connection with her but shall mention the same as

well to her keeper as to the surgeon of the district upon which steps shall forthwith be taken for her cure."

Neglect to Inform the Surgeon—

If she neglects to inform her keeper and surgeon of the district she is liable to be punished with detention, three months for the first time and on repetition of the offence with six months in the House of Correction.

Penalty for Spread of the Disease by a Prostitute—

"If the said woman, through concealment of her venereal malady, has given occassion to a wider spread thereof, she shall be liable to twelve months in the House of Correction.

"If any woman, before declaring her venereal diseases, shall have concealed it so long that, by opinion of competent medical men, she must have known the same for a considerable length of time, she shall, whether she shall or shall not have infected other persons, be liable to the same punishment as if she had infected others."

Penalty for the Brothel-Keeper—

"In case the brothel keeper shall know of the diseased condition of such women and shall not hinder her from the exercise of her trade or shall keep her therein, she shall be liable to the same

punishment, and moreover shall be liable to the costs and charges of cure and attendance of the man so infected by such woman if he requires it or if he cannot pay such expenses. For this reimbursement a brothel keeper shall be liable even if she did not know the diseased condition of a woman kept in her house in as much as such obligation shall for the public weal, be taken to be a risk and burden incident to the trade permitted to be carried on by her

Penalty for a Man Infecting a Woman—

A prostitute can prosecute anyone for having infected her by means of connection and such person shall, upon the complaint and showing of her and the brothel keeper bear the expense of cure and maintenance for so long as the woman may have to remain in the hospital and further shall be liable to a fine or three months imprisonment in the House of Correction

Fund for Treatment—

Whereas it has been the practice for the women to conceal their venereal diseases and whereas they have intrusted themselves to incompetent persons for cure; and whereas the brothel keepers are bound to refund to the hospital the expenses of the cure and attendance which sometimes fall ruinously heavy upon them;

"It is hereby directed, for the removal of this difficulty, that a healing fund shall be established, by means whereof the keepers and their women, on the occurrence of disease, may be relieved of the heavy expenses to which they are put, and may be assured against the destruction of their bodies and health, which ensue from the growth of their terrible disease.

"To this fund every brothel keeper shall contribute a monthly sum for each woman that she keeps, for which she shall receive an acknowledgement.

The brothel keeper shall recover such sum from every woman on whose account she shall have paid the same. Nevertheless any brothel keeper, who shall have allowed more than one of these monthly payments to run into arrear with the women, shall not on that account, be able to prevent her leaving her brothel, if as before ordered, she desires to change her way of life. If a woman goes from one brothel to another without the sum having been paid for her, the brothel-keeper to whom she goes must pay this amount in due time for her. This shall happen notwithstanding that she is bound to give notice of her removal to the police commissary of the quarter.

"The monthly payment of this tax is to be

made to the duly appointed medical officer of the quarter who shall pay over the whole amount to the collector of the healing fund who shall give him for the same a receipt under his own hand whereupon the comptroller shall compare a list of the same with the list of the brothel keepers and women in the several districts and shall compel defaulters to pay the outstanding tax A perfect account is to be kept of the healing fund

Out of the healing fund every diseased woman shall be taken to the Charitable Hospital, and without further charges to herself or keeper shall be maintained and thoroughly cured

Further the women shall not intrust herself either to the visiting surgeon or to any other person for cure, but such shall take place only in the Charitable Hospital

Disadvantages of the System—

The medical theory underlying the system involves bringing within it all women who are likely to disseminate venereal diseases but in practice it is impossible to bring all such women in the registered class The clandestine prostitutes live as respectable women and it is very difficult if not impossible to expose them and the number of such women is not less than twice that of the public prostitutes These women also spread venereal disease

The woman is not the only factor in the spread of venereal diseases Men suffering from Gonorrhœa and Syphilis infect these unfortunate women and also their innocent wives. The law cannot, inspite of provisions, get hold of such offenders.

Statistics show clearly that whatever temporary improvements may have been obtained by the Contagious Diseases Act in certain countries, the fall in the number of cases has been very much greater under modern methods.

In England, there was a Contagious Diseases Acts. Until 1869 the working of these Acts attracted little or no public attention. They were regarded as ordinary measures taken for the well being of the Navy and Army and their real significance was not realised. When, however, the Act of 1869 was passed, and arrangements were made for the more frequent examination of prostitutes, hostile opinion, especially among women, quickly sprang up and developed into a well organised campaign, which became increasingly active until the Acts were finally repealed.

In Calcutta also, the system of periodical examination of prostitutes was tried several decades ago and the law was popularly known as the *'Chaudda Ain'* (Act XIV). But this law

was never popular on account of the objection of the women to examination by a male doctor Such objection coming from public women was really strange. There was in those days very few medical women and so it was not possible to appoint women doctors for the purpose. The Act was a failure and is now only a thing of history

From a sanitary point of view—the only one on which licensed houses and medical examination of prostitutes are defended—medical examination of prostitutes offers no guarantee.

In some countries there is a law by which men who come into public houses when they are diseased are liable to the woman whom they infected in the court for the course of treatment and are also subject to criminal prosecution leading to imprisonment. But a prostitute is generally visited by more than one person every night and most of them are unknown to her so it is not possible for her to fix the guilt on any particular person

Facility For Free Treatment

The treatment of venereally diseased men and women is a matter of public health According to the moralists syphilis is a proper punish-

ment upon sinful men and women inflicted by God and there is reluctance to make arrangement for free treatment in hospitals through fear that it would amount to encouragement of vice. It is however forgotten that they are sources of infection and many a innocent child suffers through the fault of their fathers. The matter should be considered from a communal point of view.

In Europe, particularly in England, venereal clinics have been opened throughout the country where trained specialists give free treatment to all sufferers.

It is a matter of regret that practically nothing has been done in India in this direction.

The patients suffering from venereal diseases especially the Indian prostitutes do not complete their course of treatment even when they are treated. A prostitute cannot ply her trade so long as there are external manifestations of syphilis and so she runs to a doctor for injections. but as soon as the eruptions on the skin disappear she stops the treatment.

Such imperfectly cured cases are a great source of infection.

In some countries the police department has the power to remove any diseased woman to a proper hospital on the recommendation of their own medical board. The patient is detained in

the hospital until cured But these women are not the only factor in the spread of syphilis.

It is not so easy to control the numerous patrons of the brothels or the women who carry on their trade secretly There is in some countries provision for imprisonment for syphilitic patients, but this policy of making syphilis a reason for imprisonment is wrong in principle from a hygienic point of view The poor men or women suffering from the disease avoid the hospitals through fear of disgrace of imprisonment and endure the sufferings or rely upon the help of quacks rather than become a prisoner They come for medical aid when in the last extreme and then the disease has generally passed the stage when a cure can be effected

Such drastic laws have not been found to prevent the disease but rather helped in its spread

Every large hospital should have a venereal disease clinic for outdoor patients and also an indoor hospital for persons suffering from a virulent type of the disease and unable to attend the hospital daily Poor patients should be treated free and neo salvarson and bismuth preparations for injection should be supplied to them from the hospital Payment should be required from all who possess the means for

expenses,and it would be a source of considerable income to the hospital.

Need for Propaganda

Propaganda by means of lectures, films etc, is a very important aid in the control of venereal diseases. People must be taught to think of prostitution as a dirty habit. The dangers of venereal diseases and the economic loss to the country as a whole which follows in the wake of these diseases, must be brought to the notice of the young men and women.

The injustice done by persons of loose morality not only to themselves but also to their innocent wives, children and the community as a whole must be made clear, for no individual has the right to risk the health of the community.

CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN PROSTITUTES

(1) *Prevention of Entry—*

Admission should be refused to women suspected of being prostitutes and also to brothel keepers and traffickers

In Ceylon immigration of prostitutes is prohibited under Ordinance no 12 of 1907 Tamil and other Indian women of doubtful character occasionally go to Ceylon from India via Talaimannar with theatrical companies In some cases members of these companies are not in possession of a sufficient sum of money to maintain themselves They are therefore declared destitute and prohibited from landing in the colony under the above ordinance In some cases such women are able to obtain the services of a person of sufficient means to sign a bond on their behalf and get permission to land in Ceylon

In the seaports of India where formerly a truly international traffic in Japanese women existed the energetic measures introduced by the Japanese Consuls and residents of such places as

well as the collaboration afforded to them by the local authorities, constitute so efficient a barrier that open traffic in women of Japanese nationality to these places has been practically stopped.

(2). *Protection of Girls*—

There are dangers of blackmail and terrorisation to young foreign women and measures should be taken to prevent their falling into the hands of undesirables.

In any case in which it is suspected that a woman or girl has been imported for the purposes of prostitution, she may be detained while enquiries are made.

(3). *Repatriation of Foreign Prostitutes*—

Provision, should be made for the voluntary repatriation and assistance of foreign women, who have got into difficulties or have been the victims of misfortune, fraud or aggression.

We are not in favour of compulsory repatriation, as it provided a free field for police abuse in those countries where it was tried. Many of the foreign girls of loose moral lead lives fluctuating between being an honest woman, being a kept woman or being a clandestine prostitute. The traffickers threatened to report such girls to the police or alternatively to defend

them against the police, whose intervention meant civil death by stigmatising them as prostitutes Even foreign girls who were not prostitutes and led honest independent lives were at the mercy of these rogues who possessed the deadly weapon of being able to denounce them as prostitutes Such denunciation would mean expulsion from the country and stamp them as prostitutes transported from one country to another Repatriation of such women is a necessity, but compulsory repatriation or in other word expulsion is not desirable unless a woman is a criminal whose offences against the State have been clearly proved in a Court of Law

Before 1921 Japanese women were in brothels all over the Far East. But after the War Japan was recognised as one of the great Powers and she rightly considered that the presence of many Japanese women of ill fame in foreign countries reflected on the prestige of Japan and adversely affected the sound development of Japanese interests abroad The Japanese Government therefore invited its Consular representatives in the Far and Middle East to take steps designed to bring about, more or less gradually the repatriation of Japanese prostitutes They were not forcibly repatriated the result is achieved by persuasion and by the refusal of licences.

The efforts of the Japanese Government have not been so far succesful in India. There are still a large number of Japanese prostitutes in India.

The immigration of new recruits is however very difficult now.

It appears from the information gathered by the Commission that there is a limited movement of *foreign prostitutes* from various countries *to British India* and that this movement is, to a great extent, influenced by brothel-keepers and traffickers.

The *Bombay* police were of opinion that the *closing of brothels* in that town had very effectively *reduced foreign prostitutes* there.

THE SYSTEM OF LICENSED HOUSES

In some of the western countries prostitution is regarded as inevitable and even necessary and the policy is to divert it into channels where it could be carried on by methods which appear to involve the least disturbance of public peace and the least risk of the spread of the disease. In these countries it has been the practice to register prostitutes and to license houses of prostitution.

The laws dealing with the police supervision of prostitution in these countries may be of interest to our readers

Authority for Supervision—

The supervision of women who carry on immorality for gain is generally the duty of the Commissioner of Police for the district and the special branch of the police department dealing with the control of the public morals

Registration of a Prostitute—

The registration is carried out by the Commissioner of Police

The following persons are not registered—

(a) Girls below the age of 16 years

(b) Virgins.—When a virgin presents herself at the police station and desires to be registered, permission is refused and she is sent to a rescue home.

(c) Pregnant women.

(d) Married women not legally divorced.

(e) Women infected with venereal disease.

Women infected with venereal disease are sent to hospital before being registered.

Women are registered either—

(1) On their own request.

(2) At the instance of a registered brothel keeper.

(3) On the report of the police.

Every girl, before being registered, is required to give documentary evidence of her identity and domicile. The following questions are usually asked and the answers are taken down in writing—

(a) Name of the applicant and her residence.

(b) Her age.

(c) Name, address and occupation of her father.

(d) Whether she is unmarried or married; wife or widow; if married, the name and address of her husband.

(e) Whether she has children and where they are.

It is necessary to ascertain the correct age of a girl especially if she looks younger than the age given by her A baptismal certificate is required but in most cases women are unable to produce it In such cases an enquiry has to be made to the authorities of the place where an applicant was born

When the girl is a minor she is registered only if the Commissioner of Police is satisfied that the girl is morally abandoned and that there is no possibility of reformation. If even the most remote possibility of such improvement exists the girl is not registered until all measures taken to reform her have failed An opportunity is given to her parents or guardians to exercise due influence over her For this purpose the guardian is summoned to the office in such a way as not to prejudice his reputation If the guardian resides in a distant village or city the notice is sent in France through the local police while in some other countries it is sent direct and not through the local police to avoid unpleasantness to the guardians.

If the guardian is willing to take her back the girl is sent back to her home In many cases however the guardians refuse to give shelter to a

girl who has brought disgrace to her family. In such cases even a minor girl is inscribed by the French police ; but in many other countries an attempt is made to place the girl in a suitable rescue home.

When a girl applies for registration, she is examined as to the circumstances and reasons which have led her to a life of sin. She is asked whether she lives with her parents or husband (if married), and if not, when and how she left them The examination is carried out in camera and she is impressed with the gravity of the step she is taking.

If the girl was already a prostitute the case becomes of course different. Every woman is asked whether she has ever been a prostitute before and if so, for what period of time.

Any previous criminal conviction is also required to be noted. This is obtained by communication with the police authority of the district from which she comes.

Finally the girl is submitted to medical examination in a special venereal diseases dispensary. The result of the examination is noted in the report.

When a girl is arrested by the police for indulging in clandestine prostitution, the procedure is a little different. In such cases a girl gene-

rally denies the allegation It is thought wise to discharge her with a warning If however she is found to be incorrigible even after three or four warnings her name is registered in the list of prostitutes

Every girl whose name is registered receives a card bearing her name and registered number In the card there is space for recording results of periodic medical examination

Residence of Prostitutes—

Prostitutes are divided into three classes—

(a) Those who live in a licensed brothel

(b) Those who own their own home or furnished room

(c) Those who carry on prostitution outside their place of residence

Prostitutes who Live in their Own Home—

Every prostitute who carries on prostitution in her own dwelling must obtain the consent of the appropriate police authority in the choice of her dwelling place. The guiding principle in granting permission is that such dwellings must be as far away as possible from centres of traffic and not in the vicinity of churches schools or other public buildings or otherwise in neighbourhoods where they are likely to provoke a public scandal

The relations of a prostitute with her landlady must be exclusively those of an ordinary contract for lease. Any further condition—in particular, the taking of a percentage of her immoral earnings, or the delivery by the lessor to her clients of alcoholic drinks—is prohibited. The police authority may at any time prohibit a prostitute from dwelling with a particular lessor, or in a particular house, without assigning any reason for their decision.

The residence of a prostitute in a household in which persons under the age of 16 are included is prohibited.

These dwellings are subjected to constant and careful supervision.

Medical examination is compulsory even for these girls; and the only difference is that the medical officer does not visit such houses. The women must present themselves at the Dispensary and submit to examination once a fortnight. The only privilege is that they may choose the time and day themselves, but more than fifteen days must not elapse between the visits.

Prostitutes Living in Brothels—

Prostitutes living in a licensed brothel pay a percentage of their earnings to the brothel keeper. They do not own the rooms or the furni-

ture and pay for their board and lodgings out of their income.

There cannot be any contract binding prostitutes to remain where they are. They are at liberty to leave at their own sweet will. Every registered prostitute changing her address is however required to notify in person the Police Commissioner for the district of the old and new address within 24 hours

During the inspection of a brothel an opportunity is given to the prostitutes to make any complaints of their treatment and in particular in respect of their freedom to leave the house.

A prostitute is almost always in debt to the mistress of the brothel who advances her money for purchase of articles of luxury inorder to keep her within her clutches. Such debt is however not recognised by law and cannot be enforced in the court

In a licensed brothel a prostitute has to submit herself to medical examination once a week. The Dispensary physician visits the brothel at an appointed hour and examines the girls

Medical Examination of Prostitutes—

Every registered prostitute is subjected to medical examination

For these visits, the keeper is to provide beforehand—

(a) An examination chair of an approved pattern.

(b) Vaginal specula.

(c) Antiseptic lotion and necessary linen.

(d) For every female, her own washing apparatus, her own syringe and two or three sponges.

The medical officer visits every licensed brothel once a week at an appointed time and examines the girls. Every girl must be present and pass the examination ; otherwise a report is made to the Commissioner of Police for the purpose of instituting criminal proceedings.

The rules laid down generally require the medical officer to examine all parts of the body and to employ where necessary all the scientific devices which are available to him, in particular the vaginal speculum.

The prostitutes living in their own homes visit the doctor in his dispensary once a fortnight. Prostitutes failing to report themselves for any medical examination are reported by the Medical Officer to the Commissioner of Police, who in the absence of a valid excuse, takes steps to

secure their attendance without prejudice to criminal proceedings.

In some countries any woman who does not live in a brothel can be examined at her own residence provided that she pays the necessarry fees at the Dispensary

For this she receives generally two visits and the physician continues to call upon her as long as the payments are made in advance. Thus the aristocratic prostitutes are saved the inconvenience of attending at the Dispensary

The result of the medical examination is noted in a book kept by the physician and also on the card of the prostitute In case of licensed brothels entries are also made in the pass book of the house.

If there is evidence of venereal infection the medical officer warns the girls against continuing sexual intercourse If she lives in licensed brothel the mistress of the house is also warned not to allow the diseased prostitute to receive any visitor The woman is then sent to hospital for treatment and the medical officer enters her name in his day book On her discharge from hospital the hospital report sent to the Commissioner of Police is communicated to the medical officer for entry in his day book.

Offences—

The offences for which prostitutes are liable to prosecution are given below :—

(i) Appearing in forbidden places ; In Calcutta where there is no system of licensing brothels, prostitutes are allowed to ply their trade any where they like, except in certain forbidden streets which are declared by the police as 'public throughfares' ! Prostitutes are also forbidden to enter into a public bar.

(ii) Appearing at forbidden hours · In Hamburg no prostitute is allowed to be in the street after eleven at night without a male companion.

(iii) Getting drunk and lying down in doorways or street.

(iv) Solicitation : The prostitutes are strictly prohibited from entering or inviting passers-by in the streets with looks or signs from the houses or windows and the keepers are on no account to permit the same.

(v) Indecent behaviour in the public : Use of obscene language in the public and appearing naked at the window are grave offences.

(vi) Failure to appear at the medical examination : Failure to appear at the medical examination is an offence. If a prostitute is

pronounced diseased by the physician she must not remain in her house for more than twenty four hours A woman who continues to prostitute herself after being pronounced diseased is liable to imprisonment

The orders of the public physician are imperative, and must be strictly observed

Punishment for Offences —

A prostitute charged with an offence is arrested and taken to the Police Head quarters where there is a special room for these women She is at once produced before a magistrate if possible In any case the trial takes place within forty eight hours of her arrest In the case of minor breaches of the regulations and especially in case of first offenders punishment may be dispensed with and the woman is let off only after a warning

Women who are not first offenders are sent to jail A convicted woman is taken in a close van to the prison

In the French prisons the prisoners are all obliged to work They may choose their work. Most of the women take to sewing Payment is made for the work done by a prisoner—a part of the sum being paid at the time and the balance when they leave the prison No charge is made for the food supplied by the prison and the

money earned by a prisoner is sometimes a great help to the woman after her release.

The only punishment for disobedience of rules or misconduct is solitary confinement in a cell

Change of Residence—

A prostitute is not allowed to remove to another house of prostitution without the consent of her former keeper. Three months' notice is necessary; while reasonable grounds must be shown to the police for such removal. Brutal treatment by the keeper is a good reason.

No woman is allowed to quit a brothel for the purpose of carrying on prostitution on her own account without previous permission of the police

The debts of a woman must be paid before she can remove from one brothel to another, or before she can leave one house to start another on her own account

Removal Of Name From The Roll Of Prostitutes

A woman wishing to return to a virtuous life is at liberty to do so. No woman desirous of leaving a brothel to change her mode of life and support herself honestly, can be retained against her will.

She will have to make an application to the police giving the reasons for changing her mode of life. The name of a girl is struck from the roll of prostitutes—

(i) In case of marriage of the girl

(ii) Organic disease.

(iii) When parents or relatives undertake the reclamation of a prostitute In such cases the police may compel restitution of her person irrespective of the claims of the brothel keeper or even of the woman s own refusal

A prostitute wishing to be de-registered has also to undergo medical examination by the Medical Officer If found on examination to be suffering from venereal disease she is sent to hospital for treatment and her release is not granted until discharged therefrom

The police may at their discretion free a prostitute temporarily for a period of time to see if she really means to change her mode of life and lead a respectable life This system is known in France as provisional radiation The girl remains under the supervision of the police who secretly keep a watch over her movements If she is found to behave properly during this period her name is removed from the roll of public women

When a woman wishes to return to a

virtuous life, no difficulties may be thrown in the way of her doing so. The brothel keeper cannot force her to remain even though she may be in her debt and notwithstanding any contracts under the penalty of the loss of his permission from the police.

Nevertheless it is seen that this privilege is not abused. If a woman returns to her evil courses, the keeper's claims on her revive and she may even be punished.

No woman who seeks to quit a brothel for the purpose of carrying on prostitution for pay on her own account is permitted to do so; and if any woman quits a brothel on pretence of an honest calling, she is liable to imprisonment. A woman who withdraws herself from control without having previously been de-registered is also liable to prosecution. When a woman, whose name had been struck out, wishes to return to her old trade, she is allowed to do so.

DESCRIPTION OF LICENSED BROTHELS

A description of licensed brothels in some of the countries in Europe is given below

Situation of a Brothel—

In countries where there is a system of licensed houses brothels cannot be established in certain localities They are not tolerated in the respectably inhabited and frequented streets and squares of the city They must not also be near a school whether for boys or girls In some cities the authorities favour removal of brothels to retired places and smaller streets and thoroughfares especially blind lanes so that the police can watch them and keep a control over the locality

Description of a Licensed Brothel—

Each girl must have her own room and more than one girl is not allowed to share the same room Every room must have utensils soap and water for ablution

There are also certain laws for the prevention of crime No house of prostitution can have any back door or communicate with adjoining houses Dark passages or concealed hiding places are also not tolerated

System of License—

No one can open a brothel or keep women for the purposes of prostitution without having communicated previously with the Police on the subject, and obtained their permission in writing. The punishment for starting an unlicensed brothel is generally imprisonment.

Qualification of a Brothel Keeper—

In most countries the brothel keeper is a woman and men are not allowed to keep a house of prostitution. A woman who wishes to start a brothel must make an application to the Chief of Police. The applicant must fulfil the following conditions :—

(i) She must be a registered prostitute herself.

(ii) Her character : She must be of sober habits and not convicted for any crime.

(iii) Capacity of control : She must have sufficient force of character to be able to control women of bad character.

(iv) Financial position : She must have sufficient money for starting a brothel and purchase the furniture required to furnish the house.

The Brothel Register—

The brothel keeper has to keep a register containing the name of every prostitute she

receives whether as a boarder or a temporary lodger The name of a new girl must be entered in the Register within twenty four hours of her arrival The name and the age of the girl the date of her entry into the house, and the dates of her medical examination have to be entered in this book. Failure to make proper entries entails cancellation of the license

The Inmates of the Brothels—

Every brothel keeper has to produce a girl before the police authorities within forty eight hours before taking her into service Written permission of the police is necessary for making any contract with a girl and the conditions are to be registered with the police Similar notice must be given even if the girl be a registered prostitute and comes to the brothel from another house. Failure to inform the police of a new lodger within forty eight hours makes the keeper liable to fine or even revocation of her license in case of repetition of similar offence It is no excuse that the woman in question was not there for the purpose of prostitution in as much as the keeper is enjoined to report every female whom she receives into her house without exception, and neglect of this is regarded as a contravention

In case any innocent female is by fraud or

violence, brought into any brothel the keeper and those who are accomplices in such offence may be sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Besides this, the permit of the brothel is withdrawn. It is no excuse for a keeper to allege that she neither knew nor assisted the said seduction, in as much as she had no right to receive any female into her house without first giving notice thereof to the police for permission.

In the same manner a brothel keeper may not, under penalty of imprisonment, give anyone facility to carry on illicit intercourse with any woman who has been brought into her house. It is absolutely forbidden for any person to bring a female to such house and there to have sexual intercourse with her. Visitors are only to be allowed to have connection with the regular women of the place.

No keeper is permitted to receive any woman as maid servant or under any pretence whatever among her inmates without previous permission of the police.

Minor girls are also not allowed to remain in a house of prostitution. If a brothel keeper acts contrary to this prohibition, she is punished with rigorous imprisonment in jail. No prostitute can keep children of either sex ; even her own must be brought up elsewhere if she continues her

calling The child of a prostitute is removed from the house as soon as it is weaned and is cared for at the public cost if the parents have no means to do so

Duties of the Keeper—

The agreement which a brothel keeper enters into with the females living in her house is to be communicated to the police. In case of dispute as to this agreement between the keeper and the females both may appeal to the police.

Each of the prostitute receives a printed list of directions which she is strictly to follow It is the duty of the keeper to make herself well acquainted with these directions and to see that they are followed The keeper has also to give attention to the cleanliness and health of the female inmates

The prostitutes living in a brothel are to obey the keeper Should any of them be unruly the keeper is to appeal to the police but she cannot herself chastise or use force with any female.

If the keeper know or suspect any woman to be sick with venereal disease, she must give notice to the visiting medical officer or to the police. In default of this notice the keeper is liable to punishment

If any woman becomes pregnant notice also must be given to the visiting medical officer

Sale of Food and Drugs—

The keeper of a licensed house cannot supply visitors with wine, brandy, liquor, other alcoholic drinks or with food, but only with tea, coffee, chocolate, or similar beverages ; further it is not permitted for the visitors to bring in food or drink. For every case of contravention the keeper is fined or even sent to jail ; if this will not suffice, the permit is withdrawn from the house. In order to avoid quarrels with the visitors, the keeper must affix, in each of her rooms, a list of prices of refreshment, which must be previously approved by the police.

The Visitors—

In certain towns young people, under twenty years, cannot enter a house of prostitution.

No brothel keeper can allow any guest to remain after twelve o'clock at night, nor allow any one to enter after that hour.

Should thefts, assaults or other offences take place in such houses, the keeper is in all cases liable to the injured party if he cannot get his redress elsewhere. It is the duty of the keeper to take all possible means for the prevention of such offence and safety of the person and belongings of the visitors

No brothel keeper or registered prostitute is allowed to extort money from a customer.

The keeper has the right to refuse any person admittance into the house For preservation of order and quiet in and in front of his house the keeper will have the requisite assistance from the police

Inspection of a Brothel—

Licensed brothels are visited without notice by the Commissioner of Police and also by the Chief of the Moral Police.

The inspection includes the examination of all the rooms the verification of the brothel register containing the name date of admission and date of departure of inmates and results of medical examination and general observance of the regulations applying to brothels

An opportunity is given to the prostitutes to make of their own free will any complaints of their treatment and in particular in respect of their freedom to leave the house

SUPERVISION OF PROSTITUTES

In countries where the licensing system is prevalent, the supervision of women who carry on prostitution is the duty of a special branch of a police department dealing with the control of public morals

The general administration of the regulations for the supervision of these women is the duty of the Commissioner of Police, except so far as it lies with the exclusive jurisdiction of the Moral Police Force.

Moral Police—

The Moral Police has jurisdiction over the following matters ;—

(a) General supervision of prostitutes, and brothel keepers ;

(b) Dealing with unregistered prostitutes who have been detected by the officers of the department ;

(c) Registration of prostitutes ;

(d) Control of traffic in women ;

(e) Holding enquiries into complaints respecting the behaviour of prostitutes ,

(f) Hearing appeals against the decisions of the Commissioners of Police.

(g) General supervision over the police commissioners for the purpose of securing uniformity in the administration of the regulations dealing with prostitution

Duty of the General Police—

The Commissioner of Police assists the Moral Police in the supervision over the prostitutes and brothel keepers The general police has to report to the office of the Moral Police about any change amongst the registered prostitutes and complaint against any woman or person suspected of carrying on traffic in women and of any case of failure in attending medical examination.

Brothel Inspectors—

The duty of an Inspector of Prostitutes is to see that the regulations governing the public women are carried out This office is given only to picked men of good character and they are paid decent salaries They are generally assisted by women police officers in some countries.

The Inspector may arrest a woman guilty of any offence and take her to the police head quarters

Supervision of Unregistered Prostitutes

Many public women try to evade registration.

The Moral Police has ample power to arrest a woman suspected to be a prostitute. But mistakes were not infrequent and cases are on record where even respectable ladies waiting in parks or near places of amusements were arrested on suspicion and taken to the police station. It is now laid out,that a woman suspected of practising prostitution should only be arrested where the facts appear to be established beyond all reasonable doubt, by evidence based on repeated observation over a number of days. Persons who carry on prostitution under the cloak of some other profession are kept under watch by the police before taking any action. Any such arrest can only be made by officers of the Moral Police ; and the ordinary police may only report suspected cases,

The institution of proceedings against such women is made under orders of the Chief of the Moral Police. In every case, the Inspector has to submit a report containing the precise grounds for the prosecution. Even where legal action is taken, the case is tried *in camera* so as not to prejudice the reputation of the woman concerned.

Penalties for Unregistered Prostitutes—

A woman who is charged for the first time with carrying on professional prostitution is generally let off only with a warning

In all cases where it appears that the woman has been led into prostitution as a result of accidental circumstances and that the stigma of criminal conviction would place further obstacles *in the way of a return to respectable life action* is taken only in the direction of securing proper guardianship Such steps are taken in all cases where the girl is a minor

Women practising prostitution who are not first offenders are sent to jail In determining the duration of the sentence the unregistered prostitute is dealt with more stringently than the registered prostitutes

No woman accused of practising prostitution is submitted to medical examination until the facts are proved

DISADVANTAGES OF THE LICENSING SYSTEM

(*a*) *Encourages Young Men to Visit Brothels*—

The system of keeping prostitutes in licensed houses encourages depravity and cynicism among young people whose morals would not otherwise be exposed to the same temptation.

(*b*) *False Sense of Security Against Venereal Diseases*—

The system of state regulation was introduced and was defended mainly on sanitary grounds, that is to say, that it tended to prevent the dissemination of venereal diseases. The opponents of this system pointed out that though it might apparently be successful for a time *in a small limited area*, such as military Cantonments, it was bound to fail in end because the medical theory underlying the system involved in bringing within it all women who were likely to disseminate disease, and though the net would have to be thrown wider and wider as the area extended no method could be devised by which all clandestine prostitutes could be included.

The idea that such medical examination

protects public health has been shown by experience to be quite illusory

The system of medical examination of prostitutes also gives a sense of security in the mind of the visitors

The security both apparent and real which is offered to debauchery has thus only resulted in multiplying the number of visitors Young men who would not otherwise visit a brothel through fear of infection of venereal diseases are tempted to satisfy their lust on certified prostitutes who are supposed to be free from syphilis and gonorrhœa

(c) *Only a Few Prostitutes can be Forced to Register Themselves*—

The success of the system depends on bringing as many women as possible within the register or inspected class and on making it difficult for them to leave it The number of prostitutes who can be placed in licensed houses is relatively insignificant Consequently prostitution in gene ral can only be supervised in a very insignificant manner

In fact the existence of licensed houses in most of the countries did not prevent the existence of as many brothels outside its area as within— a proof that nothing was gained by its existence

(d) Facilities for Young Girls to Enter a Brothel—

Again licensed brothels offer facilities for young girls of idle and dissolute character to take the last step towards prostitution.

(e) Licensed Houses Constitute Centres for the Traffic in Women—

Alleging licensed houses are recognised by the state—a claim which is in some sort borne out by the system of regulation—the proprietors of these houses constantly renew and change the inmates by admitting younger members and by this fact alone, they are a permanent factor in the traffic in women.

These houses of immorality need procurers to supply them with women and, indeed, the existence of procurers is justified, since the law tolerates these establishments and even systematises them by allowing them to carry on their activities under official supervision. It is the existence of licensed brothels which supplies the traffickers and their accomplices with a sure and permanent market for their services.

Some of the licensed houses have a system of exchanging their girls. Those who regularly frequent licensed brothels constantly demand fresh women. The result is a continual interchange of prostitutes from one brothel to another.

The prostitutes alternately take one another s places and follow one after another in certain centres. What is old in one place is new in another and by this way a brothel is kept always attractive

Many women of under age are entered in the civil registers under the names of women of full age from whom the necessary papers are obtained by the agents of the brothel keepers

According to the committee of experts on the subject appointed by the League of Nations there is definite evidence that licensed houses create a steady demand for new women and that this demand is met by traffickers and causes both national and international traffic They are led to the conclusion that commercialised vice leading to international traffic undoubtedly receives a strong stimulus where prostitution is either ignored or where the control takes the form of official recognition by the registration of prostitutes or the licensing of brothels

If there was no licensed brothels the traffic in women would be reduced to a minimum The experience of the Dutch Government has shown that the traffic depended on the existence of licensed brothels and that their abolition has almost killed it. The agents or the proprietors of these houses could always count on licensed

brothels taking the women and girls they procured. Even in 1901 (two years before the actual closing of licensed brothels in Amsterdam), in the course of the enquiry held by the National White Slave Traffic Committee, it was proved that in fifteen months, 79 women had been engaged for, and had been given employment in the three chief brothels in that city.

(f) Unhappy Lot of the Prostitutes in Licensed Houses—

These houses are nothing more than sinks of iniquity and perversion in which are imprisoned these unfortunate women who are transformed by misery, squalor and vice into mere automatons. There they are slaves of the brothel-keeper, to trade in their bodies and to become victims of a traffic which adds tragic pages to the volume of human misery. They are entirely at the mercy of the brothel keeper and scoundrels who shamefully exploit them and commit unheard of infamies.

Prostitutes in licensed houses are bound to offer themselves, at any moment, to any man, no matter how repulsive. Their human dignity is held of no account.

Some brothel keepers oblige their victims to pay for their miserable accommodation and wretched food at exhorbitant prices sometimes exceeding the earning of their trade ; while others rob

those who have anything left of their miserable gains even if they are ill

The life in licensed brothels has also a pernicious effect on the women both morally and physically The excessive consumption of alcohol which is one of the obligation of their trade; and long hours spent in unventilated rooms thick with cigar smoke the idle existence devoid of any kind of higher aspiration the lack of sufficient sleep and the continual excess—these ruin the health of even the most robust women in a few years

The constant promiscuous union in the case of some of the prostitutes in licensed brothels causes them to contract venereal diseases much more frequently than in the case with the prostitutes living independently It has also been proved that the morbidity of prostitutes in licen ed brothels as a result of venereal diseases is higher than that of prostitutes living indepen dently

A woman living in a licensed brothel is forced to trade as a prostitute and there is no possibility for her of returning to a regular life.

(g) *Vice is Made a Source of Revenue*—

The system of licensing brothels is a good source of income to some of these states It may be compared with the sale of intoxicating drugs

The finding of the "Vice Commissions' formed in the United States of America may be of interest. Summarised briefly

(*a*) They did not segregate but on the contrary tended to increase the spread of vice. In several of the cities an equal or greater number of houses of prostitution were found out side the districts

(*b*) Medical inspection was not effective and the district was a virulent source of venereal infections

(*c*) The segregation of prostitutes advertised it by making it more accessible thereby increasing the demand for prostitution The increasing demand made necessary a larger supply of prostitutes and this increased the traffic in women

(*d*) Segregation being inconsistent in the State laws corrupted the police

(*e*) It stimulated the illegal sale of Liquor

(*f*) By providing a meeting place for degraded persons segregations increased crime and debauchery

(*g*) It fostered sexual perversion

(*h*) The existence of a segregated district provided a bad environment for children in neighbouring districts and also depreciated the economic value of property near the district

LICENSING SYSTEM IN INDIA

Prostitutes were officially set up in cantonments for satisfying lust of British troops and were considered a necessity

The system of licensing brothels was partially suspended in 1884 and stopped in 1888 atleast on paper as a result of the intervention of the Parliament But apparently the brothels still continued to flourish in places where British troops were stationed under the patronage of the military authorities and the prostitutes living in cantonment areas had to undergo medical examination as before Thus the licensing system continued under another name.

A new Cantonment Act was however passed in 1889 and an amending act in 1893 which prohibited the compulsory and periodical examination of prostitutes The result of abolition of the system of medical examination was an increase in the number of cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea among the soldiers The number of cases of primary syphilis rose from 75 5 to 174 1 per 1000 while the secondary cases increased from 29 4 to 84 9 per 100 The system of medical examination acted apparently as a check on the spread of the disease at least to some extent

A new Cantonment Act was then passed in 1897 which gave power to the military authorities to remove brothels and prohibit public women from living or loitering near cantonments. Under this Act persons suffering from syphilis or gonorrhoea might also be ordered to attend a dispensary.

Registration of European Prostitutes—

There is still a system of registration of European prostitutes living in brothels in Calcutta. The women are registered by the police in the following way; "The foreign girl was on her arrival in Calcutta, brought to the Criminal Investigation Office by a mistress of one of the brothels. An enquiry was made by the police officer to ascertain whether the girl has already been practising prostitution or not. Then the mistress was asked whether she was willing to keep the girl. The answer was an affirmative, and both women were taken to the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner of Police, who asked the girl why she had come to Calcutta, if she had been in correspondence with any-body and if she knew anybody. The answers to the last two questions were always "no", and the girl said she had come to earn money and that she had heard of the mistress casually through a friend in Bombay or some other place. Only

women who said that they had previously been inmates of brothels were allowed to register and their statement in this regard were as far as possible verified No licences were given During the time necessary for verification of their statements regarding their previous experience of brothels they were allowed to inhabit the Calcutta brothel but if the result of the investigation was not satisfactory they had to leave It had happened that women who were refused registration becnuse of their lack of brothel experience went to a brothel in another city in the East and then came back to register in Calcutta

Control over Prostitution—

In Calcutta the prostitutes are not interfered with unnecessarily Only the following cases have to be reported by police officers—

(i) Cases in which young girls are connected with

(ii) Where prostitutes are behaving in a riotous, disorderly or indecent manner frequenting bars or soliciting to the annoyance of passers by

In case of solicitation if the woman is known to the police officer a report is made against her ; while in cases of an unknown female she is arrested and the person solicited is asked to give

evidence. If a hackney carriage is used proceedings are made also against the driver. A girl arrested for solicitation is generally sent to the Rescue Home (Govinda Kumar House), Panihati and in cases of minor girls to the Rescue Home for Minor Girls, 45 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

Policy of Closing Brothels in Certain Localities in a City—

There are numerous brothels in certain localities but no action is usually taken against them.

The European women practising prostitution have been assigned to a paticular area of the city by the Police.

The policy of declaration of some street as a "Declared Main Throughfare," where no brothel is allowed, is another feeble attempt at restriction of prostitution. Nineteen streets have so far been declared as such and no brothel is allowed in these nineteen streets out of several hundreds of streets and lanes in Calcutta !

Occasionally at the request of local residents, a street is declared as a main thoroughfare and brothel keepers are ordered to shift elsewhere. This method may be compared with removing refuse matter from front of one's own house to that of his neighbour. Such a policy may give relief to the people of one street at the expense

of others where these brothels may be removed The houses of prostitution may be closed and the women driven out of certain neighbourhood whichwere hitherto their haunts but the women do not leave the city The question as to where they are may be answered by the reply—where they are not They remove to respectable localities and ply their vicious trade This policy of closing of brothels in a particular street scattering the inmates of such house into respectable quarters is also calculated to spread venereal disease

The only remedy is the total abolition of all houses of prostitution and provision to enable the women to earn their livelihood by honest work.

ABOLITION OF BROTHELS

HISTORY OF ATTEMPT AT ABOLITION OF BROTHELS

The history of attempts at abolition of brothels in India may be of interest.

In Bombay

In the year 1921, a constable on street duty did not like the look of a Hindu funeral procession, and so he stopped it and asked a few questions. There followed an enquiry, when it came out that a brothel keeper had murdered her and was disposing of her body. The man was brought to justice and duly convicted. This incident aroused public opinion against the brothels, and in response to the public demand the Government appointed a Committee to enquire into prostitution in the city. The report, which was published in 1922, recommended the suppression of the brothels containing 5,169 prostitutes. The Committee recommended the following acts to be illegal—

(a) The keeping of brothels ;

(b) The procuring of women ;

(c) The letting of houses for purpose of prostitution.

As a result of this the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act XI of 1923 was passed but it only made it an offence for a male to manage a brothel The public of Bombay were not satisfied with this imperfect Act Traffic in women still went on As a result of further public opinion the Prostitution Act was amended in 1926 and again in 1927 Nothing was however done to suppress the brothels The agitation against the brothels continued and in 1930 a bill further to amend the Prostitution Act. 1923 was passed by the Legislative Council The object of the new law was to deal with all third parties in the trade of Prostitution—pimps and procurers, female brothel keepers and landlords It is now an offence for anyone to keep or manage a brothel. Even the owner of a house who knowingly permits his house to be used for purposes of prostitution is liable to be prosecuted

The "Prevention of Brothels Act made illegal some four hundred houses in the segregated area

The drawback however was that practically no provision has been made to establish adequate number of homes to teach these women some useful work which might enable them to earn their livelihood without recourse to prostitution. The result is as is to be expected

To-day this same area is now inhabited by some 5,000 women, but as they all rent separate rooms, the rooms used by them do not come under the legal definition of a disorderly house. And the police admit that although the keeper has disappeared into obscurity, there is no doubt that she still plies her trade. The Act has however benefited the prostitutes by eliminating the middle men. Even where there are keepers and soutenеurs, they do not now live with the girls as they did previously and there is consequently less exploitation, as they are not now able to check the earnings of the girls.

Another loathsome feature of this Bombay sore is that the males living on the earnings of these wretched women are about as numerous as the women themselves. The men act as pimps and servants in some cases, in other cases they victimise the girls. It is very difficult to interfere with these men as the girls always say that they are earning on their own account and only exceptionally gave evidence against the men.

Weakness in the past and careless legal drafting have apparently perpetuated one of the most revolting sights in India There at the back of the Byculla Club, one of the most exclusive institutions in India, one can see streets of cages and behind the bars, for hire, women who were once human beings.

The Act has however been able to control the outer aspects of the vice, 'streets which were notorious for their parade of vice in Bombay are now shuttered, the women more hidden and the touts are gone There are fewer women too, in the streets concerned and they are screened from the passers vision The fang may not have been drawn from the cobra s mouth, but it has been broken

In Madras

In Madras the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (Act V of 1930) popularly known as the Brothels Act was passed by the local Legislative Council The Act does not allow legal action against third parties It is at present applicable only to the city of Madras Before the advent of this Act there was a system of regulation of brothels The brothels were regularly inspected by medical officers but it was found to be useless as a check on the spread of venereal disease

In Ceylon

In Ceylon brothels in the segregated areas of Colombo were abolished in 1913

In Calcutta

In Calcutta the number of brothels is still

very large, but there are changes in the outlook on prostitution, The following description of this change described by H. Anderson is of great interest.

"A change in the outlook on prostitution in India is that enlightened Civic opinion demands to-day, and is succeeding in obtaining, *a new standard of public decency* in Eastern cities. Those of us acquainted with vice conditions in the Provincial capitals thirty years ago and able to compare them with the conditions to-day see reason for much encouragement. I think of Calcutta as I knew it when investigating the blatant and unashamed vice of the closing year of last century. The *headquarters of European immorality* was centrally situated in a district called *Callinga Bazaar*, not far from Municipal Headquarters. It was a stagnant pool of repulsive vice, far more disgraceful in its flaunting character than the Indian Vice Areas. On Saturday and Sunday nights there was a shameless disregard of public morals. Its women, European, Anglo-Indian and Indian, were bold, its pimps were aggressive. The number of young girls and even children concerned went into hundreds, and that traffic was carried on every night within sound of the the Chimes of Christian churches, the bells of

boys schools and the call to prayer from Moslem Mosques It took ten years to wipe out that disgrace but it was done under the Bengal Act III of 1907 Though not destroyed European Prostitution in Indian cities has now the character of a wounded snake—dragging its slow length along

The immemorial home of *Calcutta Indian prostitution* is in the north of the city in the district of Chitpore, on the main thoroughfare and its adjacent streets and lanes where some hundreds of Magdalenes reside. It has dug itself in so deeply in the 200 years it has been allowed to exist there its vested interests are so great and its *clientele* so influential that until the passing of the present Act it has laughed at legal enactments and gone its own way Let it be stated however that Indian immorality is subdued and even decorous in its public appeal for support Women only look from the windows and verandahs. Boys solicit for custom at the doors or in the streets near by But in recent years municipal action in parts of the area near Beadon Square has made even this garrison of lust to tremble There is a new and cleaner Civic conscience to-day and with the powers now possessed this standard of public decency will improve. The extent of the evil may be judged by the remark made

by the Hon, Mrs. S. K. Sinha, President of the All-Bengal Women's Union, when on deputation to the Governor of Bengal on August 13th, 1932. She said that the police estimate for the number of Magdalenes in all the vice areas of Calcutta was 20,000, although the figures of the Census held in March of that year fixed them at less than half that number, Mrs. Sinha on behalf of the Women's Union demanded that no brothels be permittted in any guise throughout not only Calcutta but all Bengal."

In Calcutta the keeping of disorderly houses is not a legal offence, About twenty two years ago an attempt was made to suppress these brothels by an Act ; but the attempt was a failure. The Calcutta Immoral Suppression Act of 1923 made it illegal for a *male* person to keep a brothel, thus tacitly allowing any woman to do it; and the law, as is to be expected, failed to achieve its object.

The Immoral Traffic Act of 1933 recently passed by the Legislative Council does not also abolish brothels. 'Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the suppression of traffic in women and girls for immoral purposes'—thus runs the preamble of the Bill. It is not however brothels, as such, that are sought to be put down, but the use of brothels for the profit of their keepers as commercial undertakings. Establishments carried on by two or more women do not come under its

provision so long as they are not for the gain of any other person. A distinction is made between—

(a) Brothels managed by the prostitutes themselves for their own benefit—

In most of the brothels in Calcutta the prostitutes are their own mistress They keep their income to themselves pay rent of their rooms to the landlord or the lessee (who is generally an old prostitute) and make arrangement for their own food or mess together with other inmates of the house Such houses do not come under the provision the new Act.

(b) Brothels run by *barıwallıs* for profit—

To keep a house in which two or more females carry on prostitution for the gain of any other person" is an offence under the new Act In other words brothels are legalised provided they are not exploited by profit seekers

The object is to eliminate the middle men—the trafficker and the *barıwallı* But does it really do so? The law is defective. It will be difficult to prove that a house is kept for the gain of another person A *barıwallı* may draw up false account books showing a profit to each inmate of such establishment and thus avoid the laws

In Rangoon

The history of abolition of brothels in Rangoon is also interesting.

"Before dealing with the present situation" thus writes the Report of the League of Nations "it may be proper to make a short review of some conditions prevailing in Rangoon before 1920, which, according to information given by the Superintendent of Police in Rangoon were the following :

In Rangoon, segregated areas existed where brothels were not interfered with by the police. There was one block of a certain street where practically all prostitutes from western countries and a few Iraqui Jewesses lived in brothels kept by European women. The number of foreign prostitutes did not exceed fifteen or sixteen at any time and none of them stayed long, not more than two or three years.

The European women arrived via Colombo, Bombay, Calcutta, the Straits Settlements, and had almost without exception, been prostitutes in other cities of the East after having got 'stale' in these places. The small size of the European colony in Rangoon was said to be the reason the women did not stay long. It had come to the notice of the police formerly that European *souteneurs*

used to bring such women to Rangoon where houses were rented by the men and lavishly furnished to be used as brothels From time to time the police took action against European *souteneurs* under the Foreigners Act and deported them

There had also been some Japanese brothels kept by Japanese women. The inmates were brought by Japanese men from Straits Settlements and were common prostitutes who received clients of various nationalities They were given comfortable quarters but were harshly treated by the keepers.

There had been during this period Chinese prostitutes of two kinds in Rangoon common prostitutes living in comparatively cheap brothels kept by Chinese women who treated them rather badly high class prostitutes or singing girls connected with clubs for Chinese men of good standing Chinese women or sometimes men brought the Chinese girls to Rangoon from the Straits Settlements hardly ever directly from China

In addition to the Iraqi Jewesses living in the European brothels a great number lived in their own brothels The Chief of Police said that the Iraqi prostitutes at that time were miserable slaves in the hands of the brothel keepers

In the year 1920, when the issue of the Suppression of Brothels Act was expected, the foreign Consuls took action to repatriate the prostitutes to their respective countries. All the brothels were closed. The European women and some of the most successful Chinese singing-girls left at their own expense. The other Chinese girls were repatriated at the expense of the communities who subscribed the money, except some who married members of the Chinese community.

Since then, practically no foreign prostitution had existed in Rangoon. The Commissioner of Police was of the opinion that it was action of the Consuls and not the new Act which had put a stop to foreign prostitution, but that the regulations of the Act were very effective in prohibiting traffic in foreign women to Burma".

"The majority of the inmates were Burmese; very few were Indians. One or two years ago there had been two Tamil brothels with twenty-five inmates in all, but these did not exist any more, said the police.

Hardly any of the Burmese girls in the brothels were from Rangoon; generally they were poor and ignorant country girls, most of them "from the Jungle." They were often brought to the brothels by pimps—as a rule

Burmese men—who went round to the rural villages promising the girls work or well to-do husbands in Rangoon and usually paying a sum of money to the parents. Many of these girls were very young on arrival 14 to 15 years age

Recruiting and Internal Traffic—

A Burmese lawyer who give evidence to the Commission, stated that before the enforcement of the Suppression of Brothels Act 1921 and also during some of the following years there had been a considerable traffic carried on in very young girls from Tavoy (a tin-mining district in the South of Burma) who were brought to Rangoon, some of them to be sold directly to brothel-keepers others to be sold or pawned as domestic servants but in many cases afterwards drifting into prostitution An association of Tavoyese men with headquarters in Rangoon had been formed to stop this traffic and by the co-operation of this association with the police and after 1921 by a strict application of the new Act the traffic had been almost entirely stopped according to the witness"

Present Conditions—

Brothels.—Although the keeping of brothels was now punishable there were, according to the police a considerable number of sly brothels in Rangoon, as a rule occupying premises only for

some few months and then moving to another house through fear of police interference. The brothels were said to be very simply furnished and inhabited usually by only a few girls. The keepers were said by the police to be in most cases Burmese women, only exceptionally Tamil women.

Anglo-Indian Prostitutes—

"Prostitution was much practised by Anglo-Indian girls who often operated in the following way : girls living with their families or with other such girls in a flat sent cards to European men residing in Rangoon or passing through, inviting them to spend an evening at their dwelling where entertainment, such as dancing or music, was arranged, many of these Anglo-Indian girls had some occupation, but increased their earnings in this way. The police could not interfere in such cases as evidence could not be obtained that the houses were used as brothels.

Chinese Prostitutes—

No Chinese women were known to be inmates of brothels. Chinese prostitution was believed to be carried on a certain extent by Chinese waitresses in Chinese hotel-restaurants and cafes

The police said there were about 150 Chinese waitresses in Rangoon. There were no

professionally trained Chinese singing girls in Rangoon but a few of the waitresses performed as musicians and singers at dinner-parties in Chinese clubs A social worker said that many of the Chinese waitresses looked very young and might be exposed to temptation but she had not met with any cases of Chinese waitresses having been forced into an immoral life or exploited

No other women of European or foreign Asiatic origin were known to practise prostitution in Burma

Pimps—

Car-drivers and rickshaw-pullers were said to act as pimps for sly prostitutes who paid them a commission

Soliciting—

At night a small number of prostitute women could be seen soliciting in a discreet way outside the houses in the streets of Rangoon Social workers said that the soliciting had very much decreased during recent times

Prosecutions—

As for prosecutions under the laws relating to traffic there is in the annual reports to the League of Nations for the years 1926 and 1927, one case of procuring for each year

An extract from the Rangoon Town Police Report for the years 1928 and 1929, together with the statements in the annual report to the League for 1930 shows the number of the persons dealt with under the Burma Suppression of Brothels Act during the years 1928 to 1930 as follows

	1928	1929	1930
(a) Prohibitory orders under section 6 (1) (for carrying on prostitution)	321	175	123
(b) Convicted for non-compliance with (a) under section 6 (2)	21	8	—
(c) Convicted under section 4 (1) (soliciting) ...	95	234	147
(d) Convicted under section 7 (living on the earnings of prostitution)	8	0	—
(e) Convicted under section 8 (procuration) ...	0	0	—
(f) Convicted under section 10 (detention as prostitute in brothel or with intent)	3	0	—
(g) Prohibitory orders under section 11 (against landlords for allowing their premises to be used as a brothel) ...	6	1	—
(h) Convicted under section 11 (for keeping a brothel or allowing premises to be used as a brothel) ...	8	0	2

The fall in the number of orders under Section (a) regarding prostitution as an annoyance was explained to the Commission by private competent information to be due to the fact that two judgments of the High Court on appeal had cancelled convictions for failure to obey orders issued by the Commissioner of Police under this section on the grounds that sufficient evidence had not been obtained and the Police Commissioner could not in law be held to have satisfied himself that the inmates of a premises were prostitutes It was therefore difficult for the police to enforce this section and keepers and prostitutes were said to know how to take advantage of the difficulties

The great increase in convictions for soliciting seems to indicate that the police found it more practicable to combat prostitution in this way than by dealing with prostitution as an annoyance

In Singapore

We shall now give a history of suppression of the evil in another Eastern city—Singapore where there is also a large colony of Indians

'In 1926—that is before the entry of fresh prostitutes from China was stopped—there were over 2 200 prostitutes registered in known brothels in Singapore In the same year 395 Chinese women had arrived in Singapore from

China to become prostitutes in Malaya. On the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1930, by which the system of brothels was abolished a certain proportion of *the "known" brothels was closed, and the remainder were to be abolished gradually and systematically in such a way as while causing the least possible hardship to the inmates would bring about the desired result in the shortest time.*

The keepers of existing brothels now know that their establishments are doomed to be closed and may be closed at any moment. Inmates who are unwilling victims realise under these circumstances that the power of the keepers has been shaken and that if they wish to get free of their influence they have the full support of the authorities. Official testimony given to the Commission in Singapore says, in that respect : 'One of the chief disadvantages of a system of known brothels was the fact that the position of the trafficker and keeper appeared to the prostitute to be legalised and she was unwilling to challenge one whom she regarded as a Government agent. Most of the girls are *illiterate and quite unable* to *keep account* and it was *easy for the keepers to cheat them* of their earnings. The keepers were also able to impose jewellery, furniture and various luxuries upon them at extortionate rates. The prostitutes thus became more and more

deeply involved in debt to the keepers until they had no prospect but life-long slavery before them.

The systematic closing of brothels in the chief centres of the Straits Settlements—that is Singapore and Penang has forced those who profited by the earnings of brothel prostitutes to seek other way of exploiting girls. Small lodging houses kept Chinese and Japanese and are now used to a great extent as houses of rendezvous for Chinese prostitutes It was officially stated that in these lodging houses from the manager to the boys (servants) all increase their income by trafficking in girls '

Another of the devices of traffickers to make up for the loss of business due to the closing of the brothels consists in attempts to place Chinese girls with the intention of exploiting them as *clandestine prostitutes* as *waitresses in coffee shops, of which a large number have sprung up in the two cities* named The authorities have counteracted these attempts by requiring persons employed in these places to apply for licences and subjecting each application to investigation

The closing of the brothels has increased *street soliciting* by prostitutes In Singapore and Penang considering this as one of the inevitable

feature of a transitory stage in the systematic fight against traffic, the authorities deal leniently with offenders in this respect. The Chief of Police at Singapore declared that 'Until we have dealt more adequately with the people who are behind the women we do not harass the Asiatic prostitutes too much.'

By the raiding of the brothels under the new ordinance it has been possible to discover and arrest a great many of the Chinese *gangsters* who were employed by brothel-keepers to intimidate and terrorise inmates and also recalcitrant customers. In addition the breaking up of the brothels has cut off a large amount of the *funds*, of gangster organisations of this kind, called secret societies, and it has been stated that, since the closing of the brothels, there has been a remarkable decrease in the number of serious crime, such as could formerly be attributed to gang warfare.

On the other hand the number of *runners or touts employed to solicit customers for clandestine prostitutes has considerably increased.*"

RESULT OF ABOLITION OF BROTHELS

Abolition of brothels has been tried in many places

With the abolition of the houses of illfame the organised trade in prostitution which has hitherto been so blatant and infamous has become at least less prominent and scandalous

There is still "sly prostitution The petty canvassers exist though the trade magnates and madames' have disappeared There are still the discreet and inviting phætons taxis or rickshaws ready to drive off or lead the way to the house of a prostitute

The petty fries are satisfied with the small commision earned from prostitutes But this is a dangerous offence and not worth the trouble of an organisation of traffickers It does not attract the trafficker to the same extent as does the recognised establishments There is nothing like a legal covering for an illegal act

The mere abolition of brothels by an Act can not be exp cted to stamp out prostitution but

by removing the centres of the traffic it has been found to stop the trade in girls and women.

Virtue cannot be created by legislation, nor can sinners be refashioned into saints overnight by cleverly-planned legislative devices. There is always a class of incorrigible human being of highly developed sensuousness who will never be deterred by public opinion or fear of penalties from mending his ways, while others of a more sanctimonious disposition never count any pains too great to cover their sins with a mantle of apparently unsullied reputation. It is to be feared that in regard to this problem, as indeed any other, the zeal of the reformer must be content to allow for and put up with an insoluble residue of abuse and evil that cannot possibly be removed by any application of efficiency.

The "traffic" in women and girls for immoral purposes rests on a foundation of *patronage* for such purposes widespread enough to render it lucrative to those who know how to make a business of it. It follows that to attack his patronage at its source is one form, and perhaps the most effective form, of cutting off the ground from under the feet of the obnoxious traffic.

The mere penalisation of brothels will not create a better state of public morality. It must

be both preceded and followed by *rescue homes run by women leaders* of unimpeachable character and public spirit wherein erstwhile inmates of brothels would be gently wooed back to useful occupation and respectable ways of living

ABOLITION OF BROTHELS

Prostitution is a social evil that is insidiously corrupting the morals of the cities. The vice areas are dangers to health and morals and in the interest of humanity the shame of the age old traffic in girls must be stamped out.

Is Abolition of Brothels Practicable ?

Arguments for abolition of brothels—

(1) It was argued and many people still believe that prostitution is a necessary evil and can never be abolished. Prostitution according to them can only be restricted within decent limits so that its practice does not become too glaring or offensive. As a result of this belief, brothels thrived in the past either through the indifference or connivance of the states. Little did those old men and politicians know that their policy of licensed houses and state control of prostitutes was directly encouraging the traffic in women and was providing a livelihood for thousands of men of lowest type. The existence of brothels is an incentive to traffic in girls. So long as these houses exist the traffickers know that they can dispose of their victims in one of them. These recognised

houses of ill fame form an important link in the vicious cycle. They create the demand and the traffickers organisations come into being to supply it. Once the recognised or tolerated brothels are gone the traffic in women will be diminished if not stopped all together

(2) It is true people cannot be made moral by legislative enactment and even in countries where brothels have been abolished by law prostitution still goes on This is one of the arguments against suppression of this social evil Inspite of the presence of various laws crime still occurs but no one has put it as a plea for abolition of all criminal laws Similarly suppression of brothels is necessary in the interest of society Man has not yet completely conquered all his animal instincts but it is the duty of society to see that man keeps such instinct in check

(3) The old policy was that if a girl said she wanted to live an immoral life she was allowed to do so It was thought that the state can not interfere with the liberty of a woman

But has a woman the right to dispose of her person as she chooses ? This question of safeguarding individual liberty if carried to logical conclusions must lead to some very awkward and rediculous results If the manner in which a woman disposes of her person is her own busi-

ness, in regard to which she is entitled to perfect freedom, it may be argued with undeniable plausibility that even if she shall allow sodomy on her own person or kills herself, that is commits suicide, it is in no less degree her own business in regard to which she is entitled to no less freedom.

But in cases of sodomy even the passive agent is justly punished and the right of individuals to practise this beastly sexual act among themselves is not recognised.

Prostitution of one's body for gain is not natural for a woman and the state which represents society should not tolerate it. In many countries the right of the girl to lead an immoral life is not recognised.

(4) A brothel is a snare for luring young men and is a menace to social morality. It offers to youths and to men of every age a too-easy opportunity for debauchery.

(5) The women in the brothels are dangerous to public health and are sources of syphilis and gonorrhoea. A clandestine prostitute is accessible only to those who know her; while a public woman may be visited by anyone who may like to do so. A public prostitute is therefore a greater menace to public health.

(6) The brothels are rendezvous of men and

women of bad character and criminals Illicit sale of wine and smuggling of cocaine, morphine and other drugs are carried on in some of them Drunken men visiting these brothels are sometimes relieved of their money and valuables The brothels also serve as the meeting places of thieves robbers and criminals. The existence of these brothels in a locality is a cause of strain to the police

(7) The prostitutes are at least in some cases unwilling victims of circumstances They practise prostitution because there is no other alternative

Has anyone ever tried to find out the Magdalene s own views on the changing attitude towards her age long part in the social life of the East ? I am a dog said a Bengali Barriwally in charge of three Magdalenes in a Calcutta brothel "I am a dog filthy and defiled and on me lies the burden of the sins of three girls of mine "

(8) We must not make women a prey to our lust

Many years ago the papers in India reported an experience of Mahatma Gandhi s in Cocanada Resting after a hard day's work he noticed in the dim light of the verandah of his host s house a group of women and girls waiting

but anxious to speak to him. He inquired of his host who they were. "They are prostitutes," said his host, and he beckoned to them to come forward. "Who are you, and what do you want?" said Mr. Gandhi. "We are dancing girls and we want to know how we can help you and our country." Mr. Gandhi said that he felt a desire to sink into the earth. In writing of the interview later Mr. Gandhi said that after the interview his host tried to soothe him by pointing out the religious relations prostitution had with Indian social life. "That made matters worse for me," said he. "It gave the damnable thing an air of respectability. I felt ashamed of my sex. The sin is common enough in one shape or another all over India. All I can say is that if we want Swaraj through Self-purification, we must not make women a prey to our lust. We will never have a regenerate India unless we learn to respect our mothers, sisters and daughters. Let us cleanse ourselves of the sins that kill the man in us, and make us brutes." This testimony of the Mahatmaji on a changing male attitude towards the social sin is not the only significant thing in that remarkable story. It is the picture of the desire of the brothel inhabitant to have some part in Society's new age and in service for the Motherland.

Most of you know the *legend of the Knight*

of St George a British Saint with an Eastern reputation. He joined the Crusaders and determined to save the city Sylene from the ravages of a monster dragon with a huge appetite for human flesh Young maidens were his favourite food St George was warned not to attempt his destruction The dragon had had its own way for so many years all attempts to destroy it had resulted in dire disaster for its foes and after all "the maidens who suffered were only the daughters of the poor" St. George attacked the monster You see him on horse back aiming with his lance a fatal thrust at the vicious beast which he slew It was for this gallant deed that he was made a national hero" (Anderson)

It is the duty of the society to slay this dragon that haunts the brothels devouring the young maidens of our civilisation to day

The examples of redemption of prostitutes by Buddha and Christ show us the way

The task of the reformer against this social evil will be hard and long The difficulties are further increased by the mistakes of the past but they should not be allowed to stand in the way of our effort to clean up the human cesspols in our country

LAWS RELATING TO PROSTITUTION

The attitude of the Government of India towards the problem of prostitution is one of non-interference. The exercise of prostitution is not a legal offence. There is no licensed houses of prostitution and no empulsory medical supervision of prostitutes in the country.

There is no registration of brothels nor of prostitutes. The only exceptions are found in Calcutta and Karachi. The names of the inmates of European brothels in Calcutta and of brothels generally in Karachi have to be furnished to the police.

Though prostitution is not a legal offence, brothel keeping is, at least in some of the provinces—Bengal, Burma, Bombay and Madras for example. In others brothels are allowed if carried on in certain specified areas and not to the annoyance of neighbours. Different provincial administrations in India have thus different policies.

The following laws are related to prostitution and allied questions.

For British India as a Whole—

The Penal Code of British India of 1860 with

amendments of 1923 and 1924 (Sections 366, 366A. 366B, 372 373 498)

For Special Regions—

1 For Suppression of Brothels

A For Bengal Presidency the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of 1933

For the Madras Presidency : the Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of 1930; the Madras City Police Act of 1888

For the Bombay Presidency the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act of 1923 with Amendment of 1930 the Bombay District Police Act of 1890

For Burma: the Burma Suppression of Brothels Act of 1921

For Ceylon an ordinance for the suppression of brothels (no 5 of 1889) as amended by no 21 of 1919

2 For Protection of Minor Girls

A For Bengal : the Bengal Childrens Act of 1922

B For Madras Presidency : the Madras Children s Act of 1920

C. For U P : the United Provinces Girl s Protection Act of 1929 the Naik Girl s Protection Act of 1929

A Study of the Laws Relating to Prostitution in Different Provinces

Definition of Brothels.—

In the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (1933) 'brothel' means any house, room or place which the occupier or person in charge thereof habitually allows to be used by any other person for the purposes of prostitution. The definition given in the Burma Act (Section 2) is almost similar. While in the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act 'brothel' means any house, room or place habitually used by more than one person for the purposes of prostitution.

Brothel-keeping—

The keeping or management of brothels and the letting of premises to be used as a brothel are punishable under the new Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of 1933, Madras Immoral Traffic Act (section 5), Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act (Sections 5, 2, 8B and 8C), Burma Suppression of Brothels Act of 1921 (section 11). Ordinance no 5 of 1889 as amended by no. 21 of 1919.

Procuring and Traffic—

Under the Penal Code of India, procuring is not a criminal offence under all circumstances It becomes a legal offence only in the following circumstances—

(a) Procuring of a girl under the age of eighteen years is punishable (section 366A)

(b) Selling buying letting for hire hiring or otherwise disposing of any person under the age of 18 years for immoral purposes is punishable (section 372)

(c) Kidnapping and abduction of any woman or girl for immoral purposes are legal offences (section 366)

(d) To take or entice away or conceal or detain a married woman for immoral purposes is punishable (section 498)

(e) Import into British India from any country outside India of any girl under the age of 21 years for immoral purposes is punishable

The Ceylon Penal Code also provides for punishment for the procuring of any woman or girl under the age of 21 with a view to sexual intercourse and for the procuring of any woman

with intent that she may become a common prostitute (section 360A).

Detention for Immoral purposes—

Detention of any woman for immoral purposes is punishable (Calcutta Act, section 9; Madras Act, section 6; Bombay Act, section 6; Burma Act, section 10.)

Middle-men—

The Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act provided for punishment of "any *male* person who knowingly lives, wholly or in part, on the earnings of prostitution." The new Bengal Act (of 1933) and the Bombay Act (section 5) however punish *persons* not below the age of 16 who live on such earnings. Under the Burma Act of 1921 any male person who knowingly lives on the earnings of prostitution is liable to punishment (section 7). The Madras Act of 1930 has regulation of this kind.

Solicitation—

Soliciting for purposes of prostitution is an offence (Bengal Act of 1933; Burma Act, Section 8).

The Ceylon ordinance also punishes soliciting for immoral purposes in or about any public place.

Protective Measures and Age of Consent—

There are protective and preventive measures for women and children against traffic, but they are insufficient for the purpose.

The law provides for removal of girls from brothel and their detention in a place of safety The age of the girl however varies in different provinces. Under the Bengal Act of 1933 seduction or prostitution of girls *under 18 years* is punishable The Madras Immoral Traffic Act also provides for the removal of girls upto the age of 18 and for their supervision until they attain the age of 21 While under the Bombay and Burma Childrens' Acts girls under 16 living in a bad environment may be removed to a place of safety to be taken further care of

The age of consent in Ceylon is 14 years and the Penal Code of the island punishes sexual intercourse with a girl under 14 years of age

Control of Traffic in Foreign Girls

Regulations relating to the entry of foreigners and the control of them while in India are the Foreigner s Act of 1864 and the Indian Passport Rules

Every person entering India must be in possession of a valid passport and every

foreigner must have a British visa for India affixed to his or her passport.

A British visa for India is generally valid for one year. A person holding a visa may enter the country any number of times during the year; but once in the country, he can remain indefinitely. Visas for limited time are also sometimes granted in the cases of touring theatrical and other parties.

Young women are granted visas for India only when they can prove that they are travelling for a *bona-fide* purpose.

Persons Excluded—

Any foreigner who is considered undesirable can be refused visa.

Women suspected of going to India for purpose of prostitution are not granted visas.

Foreigners whose visas are only for foreign possessions in India—French, Portuguese or Dutch—are not permitted to cross the frontiers without the permission of the Government of India. Habitual residents of these foreign possessions in India are however permitted to enter British India without passports.

Undesirable foreigners can also be deported from India.

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APPENDIX

In reply to a question of Mr. Kishori Mohan Choudhuri, the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, to the Government of Bengal, laid on the table of the Council Library the following statements regarding the cases of abduction in Bengal during the years from 1926 to 1931:—

Babu Kishori Mohan Choudhuri asked—(a) Will the Hon'ble Member state district, by district, for each year from 1926 to 1931—

(i) the number of cases of abduction:

(ii) the number of cases in which the victims were Hindu women;

(iii) the number of cases in which the victims were Muhammadan women;

(iv) the number of cases in which the assailants were Muhammadans when the victims were Hindu women;

(v) the number of cases in which the assailants were Muhammadans when the victims were Muhammadan women;

(i) the number of cases in which the assailants were Hindu when the victims were Muhammadan women;

and the Hon'ble Mr R. N. Reid's statement was as follows;—

I

Cases of Abduction

Year	1926	1927	19 8	19-9	1930	1631
Burdwan	6	13	8	10	7	7
Birbhum	7	2	4	9	15	4
Bankura	4	3	4	2	5	5
Midnapore	28	14	13	22	17	13
Hooghly	5	27	28	43	32	19
Howrah	4	16	7	13	24	14
4 Perganas	72	69	77	64	67	52
Nadia	12	16	20	15	18	21
Murshidabad	10	13	3	9	7	17
Jessore	17	17	21	20	23	24
Khulna	15	0	9	20	14	25
Dacca	17	11	9	9	11	6
Mymensingh	169	97	188	250	154	204
Faridpur	55	62	45	59	36	34
Bakarganj	114	114	178	161	130	179
Rajshahi	9	13	15	19	25	24
Dinajpur	14	8	15	20	23	37
Jalpaiguri	18	14	6	21	21	21
Darjeeling	7	8	4	5	10	5
Rangpur	41	59	55	53	61	73
Pabna	32	35	44	37	27	30
Bogra	14	10	23	11	39	32
Malda	35	15	28	29	14	13
Chittagong	30	33	38	34	25	25
Noakhali	3	6	13	14	5	5
Tippera	14	16	31	24	20	21
Calcutta	63	84	7	80	73	75

II

Hindu Women Victims.

	19 6	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
	4	12	6	6	7	6
	3	1	1	5	9	2
	4	1	2	—	5	5
	23	12	11	20	17	11
	20	19	18	31	19	14
	3	14	5	8	23	14
	52	46	57	46	43	38
	9	7	14	8	8	7
	-	8	2	—	6	8
	2	8	8	4	11	9
	7	6	4	10	9	13
	5	4	1	4	4	1
	22	35	23	43	28	44
	16	14	11	13	9	7
	17	16	9	19	25	15
	1	3	—	1	2	2
	7	2	7	8	9	13
	11	8	14	14	12	14
	5	6	3	3	9	4
	15	15	13	23	23	28
	8	8	10	9	5	6
	4	2	10	3	8	5
	23	8	8	16	6	6
	4	5	4	10	8	4
	—	1	3	—	—	—
	2	2	12	4	4	6
	52	63	49	59	53	54

III

Moslem Women Victims.

1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
2	1	1	4	—	1
4	1	3	4	6	2
—	2	2	2	—	—
3	2	2	2	—	2
6	8	10	12	13	5
1	2	1	5	1	—
20	23	26	18	24	14
3	9	6	7	10	14
8	5	1	9	1	8
15	9	13	16	12	15
8	14	5	10	6	12
12	7	8	5	7	5
147	172	160	207	126	160
39	48	34	46	27	27
93	101	159	139	104	111
4	7	11	10	21	22
7	6	8	12	14	24
7	6	12	7	9	7
2	2	1	2	1	1
26	44	42	30	33	45
24	27	34	28	22	24
10	8	15	8	31	17
12	7	20	13	8	7
16	28	34	24	17	21
3	4	10	14	5	5
12	14	19	20	16	15
10	20	19	19	18	17

IV

Assailants Moslem — Victims Hindus

1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
—	—	1	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	2	—
—	—	—	—	2	—
5	—	1	—	1	1
—	1	—	—	3	1
—	1	1	—	2	—
13	11	12	18	16	11
3	—	7	6	4	3
—	—	—	—	—	1
1	2	4	5	6	6
7	4	4	5	3	5
2	1	—	2	—	—
14	23	16	20	13	21
10	3	7	5	2	3
8	15	4	5	10	6
—	3	—	1	1	1
6	—	2	2	2	8
1	—	2	1	3	1
—	1	1	—	—	1
3	4	7	8	7	9
6	3	6	5	1	1
2	1	8	3	5	2
6	3	—	—	—	—
—	—	1	2	3	—
—	2	—	—	—	—
—	—	2	—	—	1
26	44	19	27	22	39

(V) Assailants Moslems, Victims Moslems.

'26	'27	'28	'29	'30	'31
480	568	653	653	526	564

(VI) Assailants Hindus Victims Moslems.

9	3	10	8	6	8

INDEX

A

Abandoned girls 316
Abducted girls 149, 315
Abduction
  by drivers 210
    force 215
  from house 219
    the way or village tank 227
  laws on 494
  of an European lady doctor 232
    girls lost during fair 206
    Hindu girls by Muhammedans 223
    married women 16
    Muhammedan girls 219
  on plea of taking to father's place 206
  to place of amusement 209
Abolition of brothels 485
  arguments for 485
  by St George 490
  history of attempt at 463
  result of 482
Abdul Rezzak 83
Abuse of police supervision of brothels 453
Abyssinian slaves 101
Accidental fall of a woman 167
Actresses 33, 112, 115, 150.
Addhakasi 67
Adopted daughters of prostitutes 148
Adoption of children 148
After care of girls rescued 365
Age of Consent 323, 496
  of prostitutes in India 134
Agents of traffickers 179, 185
Ahalya 13
Ain i Akbari 71
Alaktaka 47
Ambapali 35, 49, 65
Amina Begam 77
Amusement of prostitutes 257
Anarkali 85
Andhakas, cause of fall of 59
Anglo Indian girls married to European soldiers 289
  prostitutes 132, 278, 284, 475
Appearance of prostitutes 257
Appearing at forbidden places 431
  in forbidden hours 431
Apsaras 27
Arab prostitutes 282
Arguments for abolition of brothels 485
Artistes 110, 150, 288
  admission into India of 288

Assailants of women 215
Assignation houses of 80
Associates of traffickers 179
Association of men and women 158, 336
Assumption of Hindu names by Muhammedan prostitutes 131
Asur vivaha 23
Attempts to suppress prostitution 463
Authority for supervision over prostitutes 422
Avarudha stree 119

B

Bad housing conditions 168
social conditions 173
Baijis 111
Badaoni 78
Banavatta 45
Bandha khanki 114
Bardhaman Pandit 75
Barwallis 149, 179, 180, 758, 761 771 470
Bawla 116
Benares brothels in 244
Bennet, Mrs. 91
Bernier's travels 78, 8_
Bhagavat 11 39 54 64
Bharat Natyasastra of 46
Bhargava 16
Bibliography 499
Bijaynagar brothels in 83
Bimbisara and Padmavati 35, 67
and Sirima 68
wives of 10
Blochmann 71
Board of film censors 359, 363
Bogus widow's home 203
Bombay city
attempt at abolition of brothels in 463
brothels in 244
Brahma Purana 51
Brihaspati 58
Brihat Sanhita 48
Brothel
abolition of 485
admission into 147 449
areas 233
clandestine 33, 80 122 4 5
classes of 746
crime in 248
definition of 493
description of 493
duties of a keeper 44
high class 746
in ancient India 57
various Indian towns 235
Vijaynagar 83
inmates 438
inspection of 442
Keepers 437
keeping 493
legislation 491
Life in 253

Brothel (contd.)
licensed 436
liquor shops near 357
low class 247
policy of closing in certain localities 459
management of 470
public opinion 489
in ancient India 51
sale of food and drugs in 441
scene in 255
situation of 235, 436
servants in 247
state control of
in ancient India 55
suppression
in ancient India 55, 57
visitors of 441
Brothel inspectors 444
keepers
duties of 440
qualification of 437
register 437
Buddha's attempts at redemption 65
Burmese prostitutes 473
Bustees 169
prostitution in 109

C

Calcutta,
attempt at abolition of brothels in 466
brothels in 235
Cantonment Acts 456
Capital punishment for abduction 375
Carnivals 144
Caste distinction among prostitutes 261
Castration of male slaves 101
Causes of a woman's fall 153
of demand 137, 275
prostitution 153
Celestial prostitutes 27
Centres for traffic in women 449
Change of residence of registered prostitutes 433
Character of prostitutes 38
Chandernagar, brothels in 243
Chastity 19
cause of destruction of a woman's 37
how a queen saved her 17
violation of 19
Chaudda ain 413
Cheap lodging houses 353
Cheros 9
Child Marriage Restraint Act 323
Children (Employment Abroad) Act 368
illegitimate 394
of prostitutes 147
protection of 398
Chinese prostitutes 283, 284, 472, 475, 480
women 289
women traffic in 298

Chintz, use in ancient India of 45
Chittagong
brothels in 244
Chyavana and Ghritachi 29
Cinema girls 151
Circus parties 288
Clandestine prostitutes 33, 80, 122 425
Classes of brothels 246
dancers 81
prostitutes 33
Clerks 259
Clients, mode of securing 308
Closing brothels in certain localities in a city 459
Cocaine 468
Co-education 339
Collection of fine 381
Collyrium 47
Colonies of prostitutes 235
in Benares 244
Bombay 244
Calcutta 235
Chandernagore 243
Chittagong 244
Cuttack 245
Dacca 243
Karachi 245
Khulna 242
Madras 245
Control over prostitution 458
Cora bred is in 245
Companionate mating 9
Complacent girls 149
Concubinage 70
Concubines 112
life of 71
of Englishmen in India 95
Congenital idiocy 329
Connivance of relatives 165
Consequences of prostitution 269
Constant association of men and women 138
Cooly girls 150
Contract with barwalli 428
Co operative building societies 354
Contagious Diseases Act 408
Control of employment of girls 367
indecent publications 359
prostitution 313
venereal diseases 401
Corruption and vice, legal countenance to 453
Cosmetic art of prostitutes 44
Courtesans 112
accompanying troops 54
as attendants of queen 54
enjoyment in company of 37
in ancient India 54
of Kampilya 30
Crime in brothels 248
Culture of prostitutes 254
Customs among prostitutes 261

D

Paris, brothels in 243
Da Fonseca 50
Dalal 146, 185, 309
Damayanti 19
Dance, description of 53, 97
Dancing girls 70, 97, 110, 152
in Hindu period 34
Muhammedan period 81
temples 173, 318
songs of 98
Dangers in prostitutes' life 264
of women travelling alone 347
Dantamasi 47
Dasarath, wives of 10
Daughters of prostitutes 147
Deba vaishya 175
Debadasi 173, 318
Bill 176
De Boigne's concubines 90
Debts of prostitutes 257, 428
Declared main thoroughfares 459
Dedication of girls to deities 174
Defence of women 342
Delirium tremens 266
Dentifrices, use in ancient India 47
Demand and supply 135
for foreign women 275
Depilatories 47
Deportation 419
Description of licensed brothels 436
Destitution, a cause of fall 164
Detention for immoral purposes 498
Devala 327
Dhammapada commentary 21, 22
Dhopani 124
Dibodas 24
Disadvantages of licensed system 412, 447
Diseases among prostitutes 264
Dispensaries for venereal disease 416
Dissolution of marriage 326
Divorce 23, 325, 327
Domestic servants 124
Domnis 81
Draupadi 11
Dress of prostitutes 44
Drinking 267, 356
Drivers, seduction by 210, 336
Drug habit 267
Duryodhana 17
Dushmanta 21
Duties of brothel keeper 440
Duty of the police 444
Duty of prostitutes when infected 408

E

Early European society in India 89
East India Company
and slave trade 101
Vade Mecum 93
Economic conditions 156
Education of girls proper 335
in sexual matters 350
Educational reforms 335
work and propaganda 363
Egyptian prostitutes 282
Emigration 311
Employment, offers of 193 306 367
false promises of 288
control of 367
English girl schools immorality in 94
Eunuchs 61
in harems 73
Entertainers professional 79, 97 110, 152
Erotic literature 359
European population in India 275
prostitutes 132 279, 467 471
registration of 457
women imported from abroad 290
Exhibitions and prostitutes 110
of body by prostitutes 88

F

Facility for free treatment 414
Factory girls 150
Failure to appear at medical examination 431
Fallen women provision for 383
Fall, causes of a woman's 37
Family life development of 7
Fancy fair 78
men 171
Fees of prostitutes 258
Female cooks 125
employment of 193, 367
servants 158
workers 33
Feringhi roga 103
Financial condition of prostitutes 257 270
Film censors 359
girls 150 151
Financiers 184
Flogging for abduction 380
Force abduction by 215
marriage by 20
Forcible Abduction case records of
Amina Khatun 230
Bhusanbala 210
Bijalibala 209
Brajabala 217
Charubala 223
Durujan Bibi 219
Haliman Bibi 210
Hausi Bibi 221
Hemantakumari 226
Jagatmohini 223
Lady doctor of Ranchi 232

Forcible abduction, case records of
Lakshmi Dasi 209
Mohini Dasi 207
Manimati 342
Parvathi 229
Srojini 226
Srupjan Bibi 221
Subhasini 228
Sukh Debi 346
Surajmukhi 231
wife of Sheikh Adu 220
Subi Dewan 228
Foreign brothels 308
Inmates of 286
Foreign prostitutes 286
clients of 284
control of traffic in 496
countries from where imported 289
how imported 290
how they carry on their trade 286
prevention of entry of 418
repatriation of 419
traffic in 288
Foreign women 275
protection of 419
Foundling hospitals 394
Francis and Madame Grand 93
French prostitutes 277
Fund for treatment 410
Future of prostitutes 269
Gambling 263
Gandharva vivaha 21
Gandhi 488
Gang rape, modus operandi 219
opinion of Amir Ali on 378
Gangsters 481
Garden parties 257, 259
Gauhar Jan 111
Gautama 57, 58, 99
General de Boigne 90
Ghaseti Begum 77
Gulam Hosein 78
Girls abandoned after seduction 383
abducted 149
adopted by prostitutes 148
born of prostitute mothers 147
cooly 150
labourers 125
lost during fairs 206
minor 134, 422
orphan 160
physical training of 342
seduction of 206
semi professional 149
slave 99
traffic in 193
Goanese prostitutes 279
Gonorrhœa among prostitutes 265
Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company 89
Grand, Madame 93
Guides 189

H

Hair dressing 47
dyes 48
oils 48
Harem 70
a typical 74
life in 71
of Akbar 72
Nabobs of Bengal 77
Serajuddowla 77
recruitment of girls for 70
Hard lot of widows 161
Harischandra 99
Harlots, roadside 108
Health of prostitutes 264
High class brothels 246
Hijras 73
Hindu girls abducted by Muhammedans 223
Hockens 81
Home for rescued girls 386
Hos 7
Hosein Kuli Khan 77
Houses of assignation 80
Housing (Financial Provisions) Bill 354
Hurkias 148
Husband a party to prostitution 166
connivance of 166
too old 159

I

Ill assorted marriage 159, 319
Illegitimate children 394
of slaves 100
Ill treatment by parents etc. 160
by husbands 162
as cause of prostitution 160
of girls at home 160
Immigration,
of foreign prostitutes 289 418
Immorality in English girls schools 94
Impotence a cause of divorce 327
Improvement of slums 353
Inclination, a cause of prostitution 155
Income of prostitutes 49
Index 511
Indecent behaviour in the public 431
Indian women, awakening of 333
as victims of traffic 310
Divorce Act 330
Indore Maharaja of 116
Industrial places 145
Indra and Ahalya 13
Urbashi 27
Inexperienced girls 288
International traffic in Indian women 310
in Ceylon 311
Far East 312
Malaya 310
Seychelles 31
Introduction of syphilis in India 103
Is abolition of brothels practicable 485
Isidasi 24

J

Jahandar Shah and Lal Kunwar 86
Jajnavalka 56, 99
Japanese prostitutes 277, 282,284
women 289
Jataka 18, 19, 25, 38, 56
Jehangir and Anarkali 85
Jehangir's India 71, 77, 80, 81
Jewish girls 132
prostitutes 277, 281, 284
Jivaka 32

K

Kachuli 45
Kadambari 45
Kalapa 48
Kalawatin 111
Kalidas 28 47
Kama 27
Kama Sutra 7, 45, 46, 60
Kamandaka 59,
Kampilya, a courtesan of 30
Kaprawalli 124
Karna 13
Kashmir 144
Kautilya 55, 56, 327
Keeper of brothels 437
duties of 440
Kenchens 79, 81
Kept mistresses 122
Kesarbai Kashinath Vs Dayavati 118
Khus roj 78
Kidnapping of girls 193
Kirtanwallis 111
Kshetraja son 14, 16
Kuki 10
Kulata 33
Kumbha dasi 33
Kusanabha and Ghritachi 29
Kusa Kumar 15

L

Labourers 171, 259
Ladakh, polyandry in 11
Lal Kunwar 86
Lakshahira, fee of 49
Laundress 124
Law of private defence 344
Laws relating to prostitution 491
Licensed brothels 422
description of 436
inmates of 438
inspection of 442
situation of 436
Licensed prostitutes 422
authority for supervision of 422
living in brothels 427
in their own home 426
medical examination of 428
offences of 431
registration of 422
removal of name from the roll of 433
residence of 426
supervision of 443
Licensing system 422, 437, 447
disadvantages of 447

Licensing system
in India 456
of liquor shops 357
Licentiousness 155
Life of a prostitute 255
Literature, obscene 359
Living conditions improvement of 353
Lodhra, use as powder of 47
Lokakantaka 57
Lola Monter 93
Lolonis 81
Love marriage 21
Lovers of prostitutes 41
Low wages of women labourers 17
Lying in hospitals 397

M

Madana 27
Madhavi 23
Madri 14
Madulakkhana Jataka 18
Magistrates women 372
Mahabharata 5, 6 11 12, 53 54 55, 57 60
Mahanirvana Tantra 53
Maharaja of Indore 116
Maid servants 33, 125, 335
Male prostitutes in ancient India 61
Male teachers in girl schools 336
Malraja 184
Manu Samhita 16
Markets, temporary for prostitution 143
Marriage
by force 20
mutual selection 23
purchase 23
seduction 20
chance of prostitutes 270
companionate 9
diabolical 20, 23
dissolution of 326
duration of 23
effects of early 323
fraud 197
gandharva 21
growth of the system of 6
Hindu ideal of 9
intercaste 331
introduction by Swetaketu 6
love 21
medical examination for 428
method 195
mock ceromony of 26
of girls with old men 319
pasacha 20
polyandrous 11 321
polygamous 10, 320
prajapatiya 23
prevention of child 323
prostitution—a by product of 25
reforms 319
sexual promiscuity before 12
after 13

Marriage
sham 262
special Act 331
swayambara 22
systems 20
temporary 121
various systems of 20
widow 325
Married life in the period of evolution 9
Married women, abduction of 16
sexual union with strangers for getting pregnant 13
Medical examination of prostitutes 405, 428
Meghdutam 47
Melas 144, 194
Menaka 28
Methods employed by traffickers 306
Methods of prevention of venereal diseases 404
procuring girls 306
Middle men 495
Mid wives 126
Minor girls 134
kidnapping of 194
registration as prostitute 424
Misguided girls 316
Mistresses 114
semi 122
extraction of money by prostitutes 49
Mode of securing clients 186, 475
Modern prostitutes 105
Modus operandi of gang rape 219
of traffickers 302
Monna Webber 127
Moral police 443
Mota system of marriage 73
Mother's connivance 165
Mothers of prostitutes 147, 271
Moti Begam 91
Movement of tourists and pilgrims 146
Mrichchakatik 57
Muhammedan girls, seduction by Muhammedans of 215, 217, 219
Muhammedans, polygamy among 11
assailants on Hindu girls treated as heroes 224
Mumtaz 116
Murder of prostitutes for jewellery 248
Music in brothels 246, 255
Mutaqherin 77

N

Nadir Shah and Nur Bai 88
Nala Kuvera 29
Narada 56
Nat 148
Nati 33, 34
Nationality of foreign prostitutes 278
Natya Sastra 46

Nautch girls 97
Necessity of deterrent punishment 375
Neglect of a prostitute to inform the medical officer 409
Niti Sara 59
Notorious districts 218
Number of prostitutes 132
of visitors 161
Nur Bai 88
Nurses 126
Nursing 384

O

Obscene literature 357
Offences of prostitutes 431
Offers of employment 193, 306
Oldham 14
Opera parties foreign 88
Opium, use by prostitutes 168
Orphan girls 160
Overcrowded dwellings 353

P

Padmavati 35 67
Panders 43
Pandu 14
Pan, for staining lips 47
Panwallas 189
Panwallis 172
Panyajosita 57
Paramour discarding of 50
Parasara 54 57 347
Parichariki 33
Parishad, of brothels 55
Patna 148
Pelsaert Francis o 77
Penalty for spread of disease 409
brothel keeper 409
a man infecting a woman 410
Perfumery use in ancient India 48
Persian prostitutes 277 282
Petty dalals 186
Phenaka (soap) 48
Physical training of girls 342
Picture post cards obscene 360
Pilgrimage, places of 146
Pimps 186
Pingala 65
Pithamarda 44
Places of pilgrimage 146
Plea for taking abducted and seduced girls into society 315
of taking to father's place 206
Police supervision 427 443, 453
Polyandry 11 321
Polygamy 10, 320
Pornography 361
Ports 146
Portuguese society in India 89
Poverty as a cause of a woman's fall 164
Procuring laws on 494
Powder use in ancient India of 47
Prajapatya vivaha 23
Prajna vanta 30
Prakasavinasta 34
Prevention of child marriage 323
of entry of foreign prostitutes 418

Prevention of
marriage with old men 319
venereal disease 404
Principals 184
Prisons for prostitutes 432
Prithviraj 22
Private defence 344
prostitution 122
tutors of girls 336
Problems of co-education 339
of control of prostitution 485
Procurers 43, 185
Professional prostitutes 107
traffic in girls 193
foreign women 288
Prohibition of sale of wine 356
Promiscuity, sexual, among primitive men 5
after marriage 13
before marriage 12
Propaganda, need for 417
Proper education of girls 335
Prostitutes
actress 112
adopted daughters of 148
age of 134
amusements of 257
appearance of 257
artiste 110
as spies 55
bullies living on earnings of 41
caste of 148
distinction among 261
change of address of 433
Prostitutes
character of 38
children of 400
clandestine 33, 122
classes of 33
cocaine, use by 268
control of immigration of foreign 418
cosmetic art of 44
culture 254
customs among 261
dancing girls as 110
dangers of life of 248
daughters of 147
debts of 257
difference from unchaste women 50
discarding a paramour by 59
diseases common among 264
dress of 44, 253
drinking 267
drug habit among 267
duration of life of 264
duty when infected 408
education of 382
enjoyments of 50
fees of 49, 258
foreign 418
future of 269
gambling among 263
garden parties and 50
gonorrhœa 265
health of 264
high class 34, 107
how they exhibited their body 35

Prostitutes
in Buddhist literature 30
inscription of 422
intemperance of 267
life in brothels of 253
living in their own house 426
in brothels 427
lovers of 41
marriage with 51
married women who become 34
medical examination of 405, 418
mock ceremony of marriage 262
mode of living of 37
modern 105
murder of 248
nationality of 178
number according to religion 135
of the street 35
offences of 431
ordinary routine of life of 155
panders of 43
penalty for spread of disease 409
position in society of 53
private 112
procurers of 43
professional 107
provision for in ancient India 56
public 107
punishment for murder
Prostitutes
religion of 261
repatriation of foreign 419
road side 108
sham marriage of a 39
residence of licensed 426
smoking among 268
sterility of 266
street walkers 110
village 15
visitors of 258 441
Prostitution
causes of 37, 155
history of 5
laws on 491
origin of 5
suppression of 463
Protection of children 398
of girls 419
Protective measures 456
Provision for illegitimate children 394
livelihood of fallen women 383
Public baths and prostitutes 50
Public prostitutes 107
Pungschali 57
Punishment of prostitutes 432
Punyavanta 30
Purdah lectures 363
Pururba and Urbashi 28 51

Q

Qualification of a brothel 437